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ANNALS
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ANNALES
DE LA
REVOLUTION FRANCOISE
ET
DE LA REPUBLIQUE
FRANCOISE

ANNALS
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,
A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF
Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF
ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS
HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY
A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,
MINISTER OF STATE.

TRANSLATED
By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS
NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY PIERRE L. LAFITTE

WITH A HISTORY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

OF THE REVOLUTION

OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

J. A. BERTHIAUD DE MONTMARTRE

OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

TRANSLATED

BY R. C. DALLAS

WITH A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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BY PIERRE L. LAFITTE

VOL. II.

1830

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THE demonstrations of love and gratitude which were lavished on the King and Royal Family on the day of the Federation, and particularly the energy with which almost all the Deputies of the National Guards from the Provinces manifested their loyalty and devotion to their Majesties, alarmed the factious and their adherents beyond all expression. They believed they saw the Royalism of the ancient system reviving, and that was the enemy they most dreaded: they therefore hastened to oppose it, in order to give it no time to make a quicker progress. They practised on this occasion the arts which had never failed them, those of circulating doubts and

and suspicions, and of pretending to believe in conspiracies and counter-revolutionary projects. They made it a great crime in the King not to have taken the oath, as *M. de la Fayette* did, upon the National Altar; they pretended also that the Nation ought to be highly offended because his Majesty's chair at the Federation was raised two or three inches above the level of the President's, and were continually talking of *the insolence of the Throne, and of the arrogance of the Executive Power's chair*. The Jacobin Editors of Papers were more violent and inflammatory than ever. One of them, *Camille Desmoulins*, took the opportunity of the Federation to refer to the triumph of *Paulus Emilius*, and called it a truly National Festival, in which a King, with his hands tied behind his back, followed in humiliation the car of the conqueror.

In a paper, entitled *C'en est fait de nous, It is all over with us*, that appeared in the Journal called *l'Ami du Peuple*, of which *Marat* was the Editor, there was the following paragraph: "Citizens of every age
" and of every condition! the measures
" taken by the Assembly cannot prevent
" your ruin: it is over with you for ever if

“ you do not run to arms, if you do not re-
“ sume that heroic valour which has twice
“ saved France, first on the 14th of July,
“ and then on the 5th of October. Fly to
“ St. Cloud, if it be not already too late,
“ bring back the King and the Dauphin
“ within your walls, keep a good guard over
“ them, and let them be responsible to you
“ for what may happen. Shut up the
“ Austrian and her brother-in-law, that they
“ may no longer plot together. Seize all
“ the Ministers and their Clerks, put them
“ into irons: secure the Chief of the Mu-
“ nicipality and the Mayor's Lieutenant.
“ Keep your eye on the General; arrest the
“ Staff Officers; take the post of artillery
“ in the *Rue-Verte*; make yourselves mas-
“ ters of all the magazines and powder-
“ mills, and let the cannon be divided among
“ the Districts. Haste, haste, if it be not
“ too late, or soon will the enemy's hosts
“ fall upon you; soon will you see the pri-
“ vileged orders rearing their heads again,
“ and despotism, horrid despotism, will ap-
“ pear more formidable than ever. Five or
“ six hundred heads struck off would have
“ insured you peace, liberty, and happiness;
“ but the mistaken humanity that withheld
“ your

“ your hands will cost the lives of millions
“ of your brethren. Let your enemies
“ triumph but a moment, and blood will
“ flow in streams: they will cut your throats
“ without pity, rip up your wives, and ex-
“ tinguish for ever among you the love of
“ liberty; their bloody hands will search
“ for the heart in the bowels of your chil-
“ dren.”

M. Malouet in a most eloquent manner denounced those Editors to the Assembly. He had scarcely named *Camille Desmoulins* and *Marat*, when violent murmurs, mixed with bursts of laughter, arose among the members of the *Coté Gauche*, the indecency of which the exasperated speaker effectually exposed, and urged with so much energy the danger of suffering such serious outrages as those he had denounced to go unpunished, that it was decreed, conformably to his motion, that before the Assembly broke up the King's Attorney should be sent for, and enjoined to prosecute for treason against the Nation the authors, printers, and sellers of writings exciting the people to rebellion against the laws, to bloodshed, or to the overthrow of the Constitution. The King's Attorney of the Chatelet came in during the

Sitting, and the President read to him the Decree that had just been passed. The tendency of it was too wise, and too useful to the re-establishment of order, to obtain the approbation of the Jacobin Club: they inveighed furiously against this Decree, which they considered as essentially counter-revolutionary, and only calculated to retard Liberty. In consequence, one of its most zealous members, who was likewise a Member of the Assembly (*Dubois de Crancé*), moved some modifications of it; but they were rejected by a great majority. The day following they were artfully introduced again by *Petion* in the Evening Sitting, and powerfully supported by *Alexander Lameth*. The members of the *Coté Droit* were unfortunately in the habit of attending these Sittings much less regularly than those of the morning, and even to those a great number of them never came till it was past eleven o'clock: so that before that hour, as well as in the Sittings of the evening, the *Coté Gauche* were certain of the majority, not only to pass the most extravagant Decrees, but to revoke the wisest; and such was the fate of that of the 31st of July in the Evening Sitting of the 2d of August. Instead of
the

the general injunction laid on the King's Attorney, to prosecute as guilty of treason against the Nation the authors, printers, and sellers of all writings moving the people to rebellion, bloodshed, &c. *he was forbidden to institute actions, or undertake prosecutions, on account of any writings whatever* hitherto published, excepting, however, *Marat's* paper, entitled *C'en est fait de nous*. There was a striking difference between this paper and the Journal of *Camille Desmoulins*, both denounced by *M. Malouet*. *Marat* was a furious writer, always blood-thirsty, and whose rage respected no one. *Camille Desmoulins*, though a warm Revolutionist, had the prudence to insult only the King and Royal Family; to devote to the lantern, of which he had constituted himself Attorney General, only Aristocrats, that is to say, the Nobility and Clergy. He wrote in the purest sense of the Revolution, and consequently had a great right to the protection of the patriots of eminence who composed the *Coté Gauche* of the Assembly.

Although the Decree of the 31st of July had been almost completely revoked by that of the 2d of August, it was to be feared

that it might still create some uneasiness to the Revolutionary Emissaries dispersed about the country. It was therefore necessary to remove their apprehensions, and to convince them that the Assembly had again fully embraced its system of indulgence, not only for inflammatory writings, but even for the most serious outrages which were excited by them. Accordingly three days after, in another nocturnal Sitting, it was decreed, on the motion of *Chapelier*, “ that the President
“ should wait upon the King, to beg of him
“ to order that all the criminal proceedings
“ instituted in the Departments of Lisle and
“ Vilaine, of the Lower Loire and Mor-
“ bihan, on account of the depredations and
“ acts of violence committed in several pa-
“ rishes of those Departments, should be
“ withdrawn; and that the persons impri-
“ soned by virtue of those proceedings
“ should be set at liberty.”

These decrees having more than ever secured for the Brigands an exemption from the punishment of all crimes whatever committed in the name of Liberty, or accompanied with imprecations against the Aristocrats, produced the effect which the Factionous had promised themselves from them. Riot-
ous

ous assemblies were renewed at the *Palais-Royal*, and at the *Thuilleries*: the most sanguinary motions were made from day to day, and new lists of proscriptions drawn out. At first it was voted in these groups that the Ministers should be dismissed, then that they should be arrested, and soon after that they should be executed. At the very doors of the Assembly exhortations to hang *M. de Montmorin*, *M. de la Tour du Pin*, and *M. de St. Priest*, were cried aloud; the two former, because a passage had been granted to some detachments of Austrian troops over the frontiers of France to the Belgic Provinces. This passage, mutually stipulated by the treaties subsisting between France and the Empire, was considered by the terrified patriots as an invasion of the country by the armies of the Emperor. The crime imputed to *M. de St. Priest* was, that he had entered into the pretended counter-revolutionary conspiracy, of which *M. de Maillebois* and *M. de Bonne-Savardin* were accused; the latter of whom had been arrested on the 1st of May by the Municipality of Pont de Beauvoisin, and removed to the prison of the *Abbaye*.

M. de Bonne-Savardin's escape with the
Abbé

Abbé *de Barmont*, a member of the National Assembly, and a very decided Royalist, had given this imaginary conspiracy a consistency, of which, from its absurdity, it would not have been otherwise susceptible. The Committee of Inquiry for the town, whose service consisted less in discovering real plots than in supposing them, and in always having a sufficient number of them to supply the Revolutionary Journals, displayed their zeal on this occasion by the publication of a volume in octavo, of 200 pages, entitled—*A Report made to the Committee of Inquiry of the Municipality of Paris, tending to denounce M. de Maillebois, M. Bonne-Savardin, and M. Guignard de St. Priest, with the vouchers, and the resolution of the Committee.*

It appeared from this Report that one *Massot*, who had been *M. de Maillebois's* secretary, had appeared before the Committee on the 24th of March 1790, and denounced a Memoir which, he said, had been given to him by *M. de Bonne-Savardin* in the month of February preceding to be copied, and which contained the plan of a counter-revolution in *M. de Maillebois's* handwriting. Neither the original nor copy of
this

this writing had been produced to the Committee, but merely an extract ; which *Maf-
fot* declared he had written from memory,
and which the Committee reported in the
following terms :

“ An intelligent officer offers his services
“ to the Count *d'Artois* to effect his return
“ to France in a manner fuitable to his dig-
“ nity, in case the Prince has no other views.
“ This officer, who believes the thing pos-
“ sible, proposes to engage the King of Sar-
“ dinia to lend 25,000 soldiers, and make
“ an advance of six millions of livres ; to en-
“ gage Spain to enter into this project, either
“ by furnishing troops, or by making an ad-
“ vance of eight millions ; and to sound
“ the Emperor, to find if he were willing to
“ furnish succours of either kind.

“ It seems certain that the Duke of *Deux-
“ Ponts*, the Margrave of *Baden*, the Land-
“ grave of *Hesse*, &c. will support this plan
“ with all their power, as they are deter-
“ mined to maintain their rights in *Alsace*.

“ When this confederacy is formed, a
“ Manifesto must be thought of in the
“ Prince's cabinet, and drawn up by *M.*
“ *Mounier* and *M. Lally Tolendal*,
“ grounded upon the Declaration of the
“ month

“ month of June. The Manifesto, after
“ having been seen by the officer, should be
“ published before the campaign was entered
“ upon.

“ The first step should be to march towards
“ Lyons, where it is hoped there will be
“ little difficulty to surmount, on account
“ of the privileges that might be imme-
“ diately granted to that town in favour of
“ its commerce. Another army might be
“ led by Brabant, and a third by Lorraine.
“ It may be expected that these three armies
“ will be greatly augmented by the anti-
“ patriotic party. By the management of
“ skilful emissaries, and by the means of
“ money, the troops that are on the frontiers
“ would be gained over. The three armies
“ should advance to Corbeil, Senlis, and
“ Meaux, should disarm all the Munici-
“ palities that lay in or near their road, make
“ them take an oath of allegiance to the
“ King, and compel them to recall their
“ Deputies, should the States-General be
“ then sitting. Paris should be blockaded;
“ and it is hoped that by this means the
“ Nation would be brought into a proper
“ way of thinking.”

Massot added in his Declaration, “that being
“ justly

“ justly alarmed at the enormity of this plan,
 “ he left *M. de Maillebois* with an inten-
 “ tion to denounce the conspirators : that
 “ *M. de Bonne-Savardin* had told him
 “ (*Maffot*) that the Sardinian Ambassador,
 “ who was in the secret of the plan, had
 “ undertaken to raise 30 millions in Paris to
 “ favour the execution of it: that *M. de*
 “ *Maillebois's* Valet-de-Chambre had also
 “ told him, that while he was dressing his
 “ master on the 22d of March, the day of
 “ his departure, he appeared to be in great
 “ agitation, and even *trembled so much,*
 “ that he could not utter a syllable; and that
 “ after he was dressed he leaned upon the
 “ chimney-piece, and said in a mournful
 “ tone of voice, *That cruel fellow Maffot*
 “ *has betrayed me !*”

This valet-de-chambre, named *Le Noir*,
 being called before the Committee three days
 after *Maffot's* declaration had been taken,
 deposed, in fact, that *M. de Maillebois* had
 appeared very much agitated on the day of
 his departure, but he did not say a single
 word of the *great trembling* his master was
 said to have undergone, nor of the mournful
 exclamation relative to the perfidy of *Maffot*.

The Committee in their Report made men-
 tion

tion of a letter from *M. de Maillebois*, found at *M. de Bonne-Savardin's* when he was arrested, which contained these words: *The plot has failed.* They also declared that it was proved by several depositions that the Count *D'Artois* had rejected this project, and had formally declared that he disapproved of it. That Prince's answer, which was several times repeated in the Committee's Report, was, *that he would enter into no plan which might give rise to a civil war.*

According to this Report, there were no other grounds for implicating *M. de St. Priest* in the plot, than an article in *M. de Bonne-Savardin's* memorandum-book, which mentions a letter that he had written to *M. de Maillebois* to inform him of a conversation he had had with a certain person of the name of *Farcy*, and which he related in the following form:

“ *Bonne-Savardin.* When will there be
“ an end to this ?

“ *Farcy.* There must be an end to it:
“ were it not for that hope, we might put
“ the key under the door, and wait to be
“ butchered.

“ *Bonne-Savardin.* The Spring will put
“ an

“ an end to it, as the King has fixed upon
“ that period to go and visit the Provinces.

“ *Farcy*. Are you not afraid that all these
“ regiments will obstruct it? that they will
“ follow and render your *projects* fruit-
“ less?” &c. &c.

M. de Bonne-Savardin, in his examination, observed that the *projects* which they were inclined to consider as those of a counter-revolution, related entirely to the King's journey, which could not take place had the National Guard at Paris determined to follow him in too great a number. Being pressed to declare whether, under the name of *Farcy*, *M. de St. Priest* was meant or not, he answered, “ that it might be so, but that he
“ could not assert it without the risk of of-
“ fending truth.”

To this was reduced the facts stated in the Report. The rest of this voluminous pamphlet consisted of declamations, conjectures, comments on each phrase, on every word, and the like.

What confidence then would be due to the absurd declaration of this faithless secretary, this weak patriot, who having had the original plan of conspiracy in his power, and having made a copy of it, so foolishly gave
up

up both, and let a whole month pass before he took it into his head to be frightened with *the enormity of the plan*, to make a copy of it from memory, and to go and present it to the Committee of Inquiry? What reliance was to be placed on the memory or assertion of a man, who, on the 24th of March, repeating, or at least having only to repeat what he pretended had been told him the day before by *M. de Maillebois's* valet-de-chambre, advanced what the valet-de-chambre declared he had never said? Was it not natural to presume that the same man, who in four-and-twenty hours had forgotten what was said to him, or recollected to have heard what was not said to him, might also be very capable of not recollecting with the greatest accuracy the contents of a paper which had been given to him to copy a month before?

Besides, as *Maffot* did not bring forward this famous denunciation till the 24th of March, and did not say that he had threatened *M. de Maillebois* with it before-hand, how was it possible that the latter, two days previously (the 22d), could have suffered so much agitation and trembling in thinking of the perfidy of his secretary? or exclaim in a
mournful

mournful tone, *the cruel fellow, he has betrayed me?*

But laying aside all the suspicions of imposture arising from so many improbabilities, and the character of the denouncer, does this plan justify our conceptions of one who had always been considered, not only as a man of great sense and judgment, but as a general officer of the most distinguished talents? Was it with fourteen millions from the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, twenty-five thousand Piedmontese, and the formidable assistance of the Duke of *Deux-Ponts*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Margrave of *Baden*, that *M. de Maillebois*, forming three powerful armies, proposed to enter the kingdom by Lyons, Flanders, and Lorraine; to disarm all the Municipalities, blockade Paris, and overthrow the new Constitution, which three millions National Guards and the whole army had sworn to defend! Had such a plan been sent in the original to the Committee of Inquiry, it should have been considered in no other light than as the vision of a madman. But this collection of absurdities, composed from the pretended recollections of a faithless secretary, could

not but be a gross and ill-connected calumny unworthy of the slightest attention.

The accusation pointed against *M. de St. Priest*, as a supposed accomplice of this imaginary conspiracy, was still more destitute of all manner of foundation; having in fact no other than the account given by *M. de Bonne-Savardin* in the copy of a letter written to *M. de Maillebois* of a conversation which he had had on the 5th of December, 1789, with a certain person called *Farcy*, and a visit which was paid that day to *M. de St. Priest* by *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, as mentioned in his memorandum-book. Notwithstanding the formal denial and reasoning of *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, the Committee of Inquiry had concluded, from the date of the visit and the conversation being the same, that *M. de St. Priest* was meant by *Farcy*. Although this unimportant conversation had nothing in it relative to any counter-revolutionary plan, and certainly could have no reference whatever to the enormous conspiracy of which *M. de Maillebois* was accused, and of which, according to the terms used in his secretary's information, he had not drawn up the memorandum

morandum till the month of February following, that is to say, about three months after the conversation, the Committee did not hesitate to consider *M. de St. Priest* as concerned in the project. The Solicitor of the Commune denounced him to the King's Solicitor of the Chatelet, and the Capital was overwhelmed with atrocious libels, in which the people were excited to demand the punishment of *M. de St. Priest*, and the dismissal of all the Ministers.

Such were the usual means employed by the Factious to agitate the people in every crisis, of which the issue might be fatal to themselves. Their alarm on the present occasion was more serious than any since the beginning of the Revolution. The proceedings of the Chatelet on the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October were drawing to a conclusion; the secret of some depositions had transpired, and the public voice had marked out great criminals among the most popular members of the Assembly. This was giving them notice to put themselves upon their guard, to assume not only a defensive but a menacing attitude, and consequently to keep the people in a continual state of effervescence, that they might be

able at pleasure to excite them to insurrection, so long as the storm which they had to dread should continue to threaten.

Such was the principal cause of the extreme fermentation which reigned in Paris from the month of July to the 2d of October; at which time the Report relative to the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, and to the famous Decree which declared that there was no ground for accusation against the Duke of *Orleans* and *Mirabeau*, was presented to the Assembly.

This fermentation spreading into the Provinces, which were ever ready to follow the example of the Capital, produced the feditious commotions and excesses which broke out at once in every quarter *. In short, it is to the same cause that the increase of the

* I will confine myself to mentioning the insurrections which took place at Avignon, Hagueneau, Lyons, Metz, Toulon, Nancy, Carcassone, &c. Men ran about the country, crying, "Here's the great Decree which forbids the paying of Tithes and Quit-Rents." (*Report of the Committee of Inquiry in the Sitting of the 2d of August.*) Licentiousness and disorder had made their way into all the regiments, and had completely disorganised the army, while the Assembly were debating upon its organization. (*Memorial of the Minister in the Sitting of the 6th of August.*)

oppressions of the Committee of Inquiry, and the heat and violence of the debates which in that interval rendered the Sitzings of the Assembly so tumultuous, must be attributed.

On the 7th of August the Judges of the Chatelet informed the Assembly that the proceedings relative to the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October were closed. “ We are
“ come at length,” said the Magistrate who was at the head of this Deputation, “ to
“ withdraw the veil that concealed a pro-
“ ceeding unfortunately too much celebrated.
“ Those secrets, replete with horror, are
“ now to be made known.—And what was
“ our grief to find the depositions in these
“ proceedings implicating two Members of
“ the National Assembly ! No doubt they
“ would have eagerly stepped forward to
“ prove themselves innocent ; but you have
“ rendered it impossible for us to put them
“ on their trial. You are to become the
“ fureties of the public vengeance ; you
“ will cease to be legislators in order to be
“ judges ; you will regulate the influence
“ of circumstances on our duty ; you will
“ inform us what crimes the sword of
“ justice must strike, what criminals it must
“ punish !”

There were great debates on this occasion : the principal speakers of the *Coté-Droit*, the Abbé *Maury* and *M. de Casalés*, contended with force that the Assembly ought to remand the Proceedings to the Chatelet, with an order to continue the prosecution against all criminals indifferently ; declaring that the law knew only citizens, and considered them all as equal. But *Mirabeau*, supported by all the *Coté-Gauche*, insisted successfully on the execution of the Decree of the 26th of June preceding, which had been passed in the affair of *M. de Lautrec*, and by which it was declared, “ that the Deputies to the
“ National Assembly could not have sen-
“ tence passed upon them by any Judges
“ until the Legislative Body, after an ex-
“ amination of the charges and evidence,
“ should have decided that there were
“ grounds for the accusation.” It was decreed in consequence, “ that the Committee
“ of Reports should exhibit to the Assembly
“ an account of the charges that concerned
“ the Representatives of the Nation, if there
“ existed any, in the proceedings carried on
“ at the Chatelet on the events of the 6th
“ of October last, for the purpose of its
“ being declared on the said Report whether

“ there were grounds for accusation or not.”
The Assembly resolved moreover, “ 1st, That
“ two of the Judges of the Chatelet should
“ be called in to assist at the opening of
“ the papers received from that Court, and
“ to see the inventory made of the docu-
“ ments contained therein. 2dly, That it
“ was not the meaning of the Assembly to
“ stop the course of the Proceedings as
“ to the other persons arraigned or tried.
“ 3dly, That the Committee of Inquiry for
“ Paris should, without delay, deliver into
“ the hands of the King’s Solicitor of the
“ Chatelet all the documents and papers
“ which may be relative to the Proceedings,
“ in order to serve so far as they may be re-
“ quired to the prosecution.”

This last arrangement related to a very remarkable distinction which the Committee of Inquiry for the town had made, and on which they grounded their refusal to communicate several papers and documents that had been demanded of them by the Chatelet. The Committee made a difference between the outrages committed on the 5th of October and those committed on the next day. The former, they said, seemed to them rather deserving of public gratitude than of a

criminal prosecution, and they had denounced only those committed on the 6th! They pretended to be authorized by this restriction to refuse all the papers and documents relative to the 5th. In the Decree likewise which I have just reported, no mention was made but of the outrages of the 6th of October: however, the injunction respecting the delivery of the papers being general, it threw the Committee of Inquiry for the town into a very awkward situation. As they saw no means of extricating themselves from it but by applying to the Assembly, they appeared on the 10th of August at the Evening Sitting, and shewed that they had constantly declared, both to the Commune and to the King's Solicitor of the Chatelet, "That the Committee
" of Inquiry for the town were totally
" strangers to all information but such as had
" been laid against the crimes committed
" at the Palace of Versailles in the morning
" of the 6th of October, and that all the
" documents relative to those crimes had
" been communicated to the King's Solicitor of the Chatelet. We should think
" ourselves highly culpable," added the speaker, "if we had denounced the 5th day
" of October it would have been ar-
" raining

“ raigning the Revolution. We beseech
 “ the National Assembly, after what we
 “ have now said, to take into consideration
 “ the dilemma into which we are thrown by
 “ their Decree of the 7th of this month,
 “ which orders us to communicate without
 “ delay to the King’s Attorney-General the
 “ papers and documents which may be re-
 “ lative to the events of the 5th and 6th of
 “ October.”

A motion being made to refer this request
 to the Committee of Reports, the Abbé
Maury attempted to speak, but he was
 driven from the tribune by noises and the
 most scandalous bursts of laughter; and the
 Assembly passed to the hearing of another
 petition without coming to any determination
 on that of the Committee of Inquiry, which
 the majority were not willing to reject, but
 which they did not dare to admit. The con-
 sequence of this was, that the request was
 considered as tacitly referred to the Com-
 mittee of Reports.

The Abbé *de Barmond* having been ar-
 rested at Chalons with *M. de Bonne-Savar-*
din, was brought back to Paris on the 17th
 of August, attended by a numerous escort of
 National Guards, and immediately wrote to
 the

the President of the Assembly to demand a hearing the next day. After debating whether he should be set at liberty, and speak from the tribune or not, it was determined that he should continue under arrest and appear at the Bar, whither he was conducted on the 18th. The account he gave of his conduct excited great interest. He showed that he had not been acquainted with *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, nor had ever seen him before the 16th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, that is to say, three days after he had escaped from the prison of the Abbaye; that being greatly affected by the situation and entreaties of that officer, he had not had sufficient strength of mind to refuse him the asylum he solicited; that after he had kept him some days at his house, being obliged to leave Paris that he might not lose the season for the waters which he had been ordered to take, he consented to give *M. de Bonne-Savardin* a place in his carriage, provided no sentence were passed against him before his departure; that the Chatelet having pronounced judgment on the 26th in the proceeding relative to the business in question, and not having given any decision whatever against *M. de Bonne-Savardin*,

Savardin, he (the *Abbé de Barmond*), impelled by a sentiment of humanity far more powerful than all the considerations of prudence, had set out on his journey with him that very night. He did not deny that his conduct might be taxed with weakness, but he maintained that not a shadow of a crime could be perceived in it, and demanded to be set at liberty provisionally, on giving his word of honour not to leave Paris.

Of all the Members of the Assembly who spoke in favour of the *Abbé de Barmond*, none defended him with more energy than the President *de Frondeville*. “The 7th
“ article of your declaration of the Rights
“ of Man,” said he, “determines that no
“ one can be accused, arrested, or detained,
“ but in such cases as are settled by the law ;
“ that they who require, give, execute, or
“ cause to be executed, arbitrary orders,
“ ought to be punished.—Why then is *M.*
“ *de Barmond* detained? He is not accused,
“ nor is there any judgment against him.
“ It is said that he was openly taken in the
“ fact. But what fact? And with what
“ man was he flying? With one respecting
“ whom the same law had been infringed.
“ No sentence had been pronounced against
“ *M. de*

“ *M. de Bonne-Savardin* : he could not,
“ therefore, be regarded but as a citizen, in
“ whose person liberty had been violated.—
“ By whom was he arrested under his own
“ roof?—We are told by the Committee of
“ Inquiry for the town—but by whom were
“ those strange tribunals, those satellites of
“ tyranny created? By themselves: they
“ have no powers but what they have arro-
“ gated. This odious institution is autho-
“ rised by no law, no decree; and such is
“ the tribunal at which *M. de Barmond* is
“ accused of having carried off a citizen!
“ If it be a good action to support the law,
“ *M. de Barmond* did a good action in re-
“ moving a citizen from tyranny; and now
“ it is proposed to you to detain him under
“ an arrest, while for these six months past
“ the assassins of our Princes are freely pa-
“ rading the capital, nay, perhaps, while
“ they are seated among ourselves!”

These last words, accompanied with a very significant look fixed on the Duke of Orleans, excited a tumult, which was the more violent from its being known that that Prince and *Mirabeau* were the two Members of the Assembly hinted at by the Chatelet, as impeached in the proceedings relative to the
outrages

outrages of the 5th and 6th of October. The clamours of the *Coté-Gauche*, and howlings of the galleries, called *M. de Frondeville* to the bar. The agitation increased, and continued so long, that the President was obliged to put on his hat ; and *M. de Frondeville* went down to the bar to put an end to the disorder. He there, however, demanded to be heard from the tribune, and having been authoris'd to return to it by the Assembly, he said, that if he had been permitted to finish the sentence which had created so much anger, and which he offered to repeat, it would have been seen that it was merely hypothetical, and that the supposition was founded on the proceedings of the Chatelet. Neither the repetition of the sentence, nor what he said afterwards, was suffered to be heard. After a long and tumultuous debate, *M. de Frondeville* having withdrawn, the President pronounced the following Decree: " The Assembly declare that the Member who spoke the sentence in question is censured, and they order that his speech be laid upon the table."

With respect to the Abbé *de Barmond*, the Assembly charged the Committee of Inquiry to give an account, on the Monday following,

following, of the different papers which had been delivered to them on this business; but at the same time decreed that the Abbé should continue under an arrest till further orders.

The dispute which the President *de Frondeville* had given rise to did not end in this Sitting, and had nearly been attended with very serious consequences. He caused his speech to be printed, with this line for a motto,

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas,

and with a preface, beginning with the following expression: *Those who take the trouble to read my speech will hardly guess why I caused it to be printed, if I do not inform them that I have been honoured with the censure of the National Assembly for it, which is in fact the only merit I am conscious of its having.*

This publication was denounced to the Assembly as being distributed and sold publicly at the very door of the Hall. The Deputy who denounced it concluded with moving, that *M. de Frondeville* should be called upon to acknowledge, or to disavow it. The members of the *Coté-Droit* moved the order of the day, but the motion

motion was rejected, and *M. de Frondeville* being called upon by the President, declared, without the least hesitation, that he had caused the pamphlet to which his name was affixed to be printed, and had ordered it to be distributed in the Assembly, but no where else.

As this avowal was accompanied with no expression of excuse or regret, the President *de Frondeville's* motto and preface were considered by the *Coté-Gauche* as an insult offered to the whole Nation, whose majesty, said they, resides in its representatives; and a motion was made in consequence, “ that *M. de Frondeville* be declared guilty, “ on his own confession, of a breach of the “ respect due to the Assembly; and that he “ be condemned, as a punishment, to remain in custody for eight days.”

This motion was warmly opposed by the Abbé *Maury*, who contended that the Assembly had no right to inflict a penalty which was enacted by no law, for a supposed crime which no law had described. “ Your censure,” said he, “ does not dishonour; “ yet if one of your members, on whom “ it has fallen, pretends to be honoured by “ it, he argues very erroneously, but he “ does

“ does not commit a crime. However, such
“ is the insult which it is proposed to you
“ to punish, while all that is great and most
“ august is left open to the attacks of the li-
“ bels which are circulated in profusion with
“ impunity.”

The debate grew warm on either side to a great degree. “ When a man is ho-
“ noured with censure,” said *Barnave*,
“ imprisonment is the mildest punishment
“ that” — At these words *M. de Fau-*
cigny, transported with indignation, inter-
rupted the speaker, and rushing into the
middle of the Hall exclaimed: “ This looks
“ like an open war made by the Majority
“ on the Minority, and the only way to put
“ an end to it is to fall sword in hand on
“ those fellows.”

The *Coté-Gauche* rise in a fury; the Pre-
sident *de Frondeville*, alarmed for *M. de*
Faucigny, springs to the tribune; *Barnave*
speaks again, and qualifies the expression he
had begun: he talks no more of prison, but
only of depriving *M. de Frondeville* of his
liberty for a certain time. “ As to the new
“ insult that has just been offered,” adds he,
“ and which must grieve us all, I shall not
“ examine it deeply; but the respect which
“ the

“ the Assembly owe themselves makes it re-
“ quisite that the President should give orders
“ immediately to secure the person of”——

The President *de Frondeville* did not suffer this sentence to be finished, but exclaimed with the most affecting emotion—“ Yes,
“ Gentlemen, I am guilty, very guilty. The
“ instant that there escaped from one of our
“ colleagues in my defence an expression of
“ violence, which might be attended with
“ the most serious consequences, I felt how
“ very wrong I had been; but I beseech
“ you, Gentlemen, I conjure you, look only
“ to me, let the penalty fall solely upon my
“ head. I accuse myself in the eyes of the
“ public, and of the Assembly; I am un-
“ happy at being the cause of such a scene;
“ I desire you to punish me, I am ready to
“ go to prison; but I conjure you by your
“ sensibility, and in the name of our coun-
“ try, to consider the hasty words that have
“ just escaped but as the first impulse of a
“ warm imagination, and which cannot be
“ the expression of a sentiment: I again
“ beseech you to let all the penalty fall on
“ me; send me to prison, I am ready to
“ go. Turn your eyes on me, I know that
“ I have not deserved your indulgence, yet
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“ still should I be too cruelly punished were
“ you to give serious consequences to the
“ debate about to ensue.—Pardon my con-
“ fusion, I express ill what I feel; I am so
“ agitated—I beg it as a favour that you will
“ let the punishment fall solely upon me; I
“ myself move that the sentence should there-
“ fore be the more heavy, and I entreat that
“ it may be instantly passed.”

This noble impulse of sensibility made a most favourable impression on the whole Assembly: all resentment, all ideas of vengeance vanished; mild tears glittered in every eye, and a general clapping of hands thanked the speaker for having produced so happy a revolution. There was no longer any question about sending *M. de Frondeville* to prison: the Deputy who had made the motion withdrew it, and proposed to reduce the punishment, which *M. de Frondeville* acknowledged to have deserved, to a confinement of eight days to his house; which was decreed by a great majority.

M. de Faucigny retracted the expressions that had escaped him from an impulse of feeling which he had not been able to command, when he heard a prison spoken of as a punishment too mild for one of his colleagues;

leagues; and the Assembly, satisfied with these apologies, remitted the penalty he had incurred.

During the week that the President *de Frondeville* was confined, his house was crowded with visitors; all the good company in Paris made it a point to pay attention to him; as they did likewise to *M. de Cazalés*, who, at the same period, had been confined at home for some days, after a duel he had had with *Barnave*, and in which he had received a contusion on the head that would have killed him on the spot if the thickness of his hat had not deadened the ball.

M. de Frondeville was on the present occasion on the point of running the same risk from the Duke of *Orleans*; from whom Madame *de B.* by means of her reproaches, had drawn a promise of demanding satisfaction for the insulting allusion made to him in the Sitting of the 18th of August.

“You thought,” said she to him, “that
“your rank as a Prince of the Blood did not
“suffer you to fight with *M. de Goguelas*,
“after the atrocious insult he publicly put
“upon you in the Queen’s apartments*:

“but

* The Duke of *Orleans*, a few days after his return

“ but that is not the case now, *M. de Fron-*
“ *deville* is, like yourself, a Deputy of the
“ Nobility, and your colleague; he insulted
“ you in the most striking manner before
“ the whole Assembly, and he has besides
“ accused you most seriously in his deposi-
“ tion before the Chatelet; you are for ever
“ dishonoured if you do not demand satis-
“ faction for it.” These words, pronounced
with all the warmth and energy which a
woman jealous of the honour of her lover
might be supposed to give them, produced
the miraculous effect of making the Duke
of *Orleans* for a moment forget his natural
cowardice. He commissioned Prince *Louis*
D’Aremberg, his intimate friend, to call
on *M. de Frondeville*, and appoint the day,
hour, and place for their meeting. The
Prince *D’Aremberg* wrote that very evening
(the 18th of August) to the President *de*
Frondeville, and observed that he was com-
missioned to speak to him upon an affair of

from England, being in the Queen’s apartments, *M. de*
Goguelas, who happened to be there, went up to him,
took him by the shoulder, and twirling him violently
round upon his heels, said in a very loud voice: “ Ah!
“ you here, you scoundrel! how dare you appear in this
“ place?”

consequence,

consequence, and to propose what he could not explain more clearly by writing, but the object of which he imagined *M. de Frondeville* would easily guess; and in consequence he requested a meeting next day, between twelve and one o'clock, without fail. The President received this letter on returning home, and replied to the Prince *D'Aremberg* that he had no doubt as to the proposal which he had to make, that he was ready to answer it, and that no business could be more easily settled: that he was particularly desirous it should meet with no delay, and promised to be at home at the hour appointed, or to call upon the Prince *D'Aremberg*. The latter wrote next morning a second note to *M. de Frondeville*, to request that he would wait for him at home till the hour appointed.

The next day the President *de Frondeville* informed the Marquis *de Mortemar* of his situation, and engaged him to accompany him: but in vain did he wait at home for the Prince *D'Aremberg* till past one o'clock; he neither came nor wrote, nor was there any news whatever heard of him by *M. de Frondeville*, who was forming conjectures so strange a conduct might give rise to, when he was told of the great uproar

which the pamphlet he had published that day created in the Assembly. Instead of the single combat for which he was prepared, he was called to a battle for which he was not prepared, but to which he hastened without hesitation, leaving orders with his servants to send to him at the Assembly, if the Prince *D'Aremberg* should call. On his return from that Sitting, the principal scenes of which I have already described, hearing that the Prince had not called, he wrote to him to express his surprise at his not keeping his appointment in so urgent and serious a business; adding, that although the Assembly had put him under confinement, he was ready to break through it for an hour or two if necessary, and to repair to the spot where the affair in question was to be determined. The Prince *D'Aremberg* sent him no answer till the day following, and then wrote that he was very sorry he had engaged in a business of this nature, without being able to bring it to a proper issue; but that certain reasons, of the merits of which it was not his part to judge, made him apprehend that it would not be determined in the manner it ought to be; yet that he did not entirely despair of it. Here this correspondence dropped,

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ped, and the Duke of *Orleans* contented himself with publishing a law case, full of gross invectives against *M. de Frondeville*, to which was annexed an Opinion signed by several Advocates, and in which the Duke was advised to prosecute the President *de Frondeville* in a court of criminal jurisdiction, for having given false evidence. In fact, he instituted a complaint against him; but the depositions made by the witnesses, of whom he had produced above an hundred, alledging no grounds to establish this charge, he abandoned the prosecution.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Revolt of the Garrison at Nancy—M. de Bouillé marches thither with an Army, defeats the Rebels, and restores Order—New modelling of the Army—New Penal Code for the Navy—Its Effects—Affecting Address from the Inhabitants of Bearn to the King, beseeching him to retain the Palace at Pau, which had been the Cradle of Henry IV.—The King's Letter to the Assembly on this Occasion—The Assembly order the Proceedings of the Chatelet on the Outrages of the 5th and 6th of October to be printed, and resolve that the Members who appeared as Witnesses should not vote as Judges—Forced Retreat of Mr. Necker—His Humiliation and Sufferings—

ings—A Letter written by him to the Assembly—He is twice arrested in his Road—A View of the National Debt published by the Committee of Finances.

IN one of the articles of the Constitutional Code it was said, *the armed force is essentially obedient*; but the mutiny of all the regiments was a palpable contradiction to that article, and proved to the authors of it that they had worded the expression improperly. They no doubt meant to say that the armed force *should be* essentially obedient. But men are not always essentially what they ought to be, and it was but too true that at this period the armed force was entirely disobedient. This appeared at Nancy by the most dreadful excesses. Great disorders had broken out in that garrison ever since the month of July, and the Assembly flattered themselves that the Decree which they had passed on the 6th of August, on the representation of the Minister of War, would be sufficient to re-establish order.

M. de Malseigne, a general officer, who was commissioned to carry that Decree to Nancy, and to cause it to be executed, found on his arrival the arsenal and powder-magazine

zine broke open and pillaged, eighteen pieces of cannon in the possession of the mutineers, and the military chest of the regiments carried off. The soldiers having gained the populace, had forced the Municipal Officers and Members of the Department to give them money, threatening to hang them in case of a refusal: they spoke only with contempt of the National Assembly, and of its Decrees; and openly declared their intention of pillaging the town. The officers were insulted, ill-treated, and imprisoned; among those imprisoned was *M. de Noue*, the Commandant of the place.

The garrison of Nancy was composed of four battalions of the King's regiment, two battalions of the Swiss regiment of Chateauvieux, and the Mestre-de-Camp regiment of horse. *M. de Malseigne* caused the decree of the Assembly to be proclaimed, but the soldiers and people turned it into ridicule, and declared that they would not obey it. On the 26th of August, that General went to the quarters of the regiment of Chateauvieux, and used every means, both of mildness and firmness, to recall the soldiers to the obedience they owed to their officers, but in vain; and he was retiring when a grenadier presented

presented his bayonet to his breast, and stopped him. *M. de Malseigne* stepping back, drew his sword, put aside the bayonet, and slightly wounded the grenadier. Another soldier aimed a blow at him with his sabre, which he parried, and wounded the man; but his sword breaking, he snatched one from an officer of the *Marechaussée* who was by, with which he opened a passage for himself through the soldiers that were in his way, and walked quietly home. The next day at noon he set out for Luneville, where there were eight squadrons of light-horse not yet infected by the spirit of revolt.

The garrison of Nancy alarmed at *M. de Malseigne's* unexpected departure, dispatched in pursuit of him a large detachment of National Guards and soldiers, all on horseback, with their officers, whom they had compelled to go with them at their head. They had nearly come up with him when a party of light-horse fortunately appeared on the same road. *M. de Malseigne* hastened up to them, and, having harangued them, put himself at their head, and fell upon the soldiers who were pursuing him. These were soon routed, and several of them wounded. They made the best of their way back to Nancy,

cy, calling out, *Treachery*, accused their officers, wounded five of them, and arrested twenty, whom they compelled to lie on straw in the prison-room at the guard-house. *M. de Noue* himself was made to change his clothes for a town-serjeant's great-coat, and put in confinement. In the mean time a party of the garrison of Nancy went to Luneville to demand *M. de Malseigne*, found the troopers under arms, and parleyed with them. They consented to give him up, and he was hurried away in his night-gown and cap, placed in his own carriage between a trooper and a grenadier of the King's regiment, and taken back to Nancy.

The Marquis *de Bouillé*, Commander of the Province, being informed of these circumstances, collected the few troops that remained faithful within his reach, and added to them 600 grenadiers of the National Guards of Metz, and a body of artillery, with only eight pieces of cannon. With this little army, which consisted of 3000 foot and 1400 horse, he marched against Nancy, where the garrison having received a reinforcement of 2000 National Guards from the neighbouring departments, amounted to 10,000 men. He halted within five miles of
of

of the town, and on the 30th of August sent a proclamation, of which the substance was, that being authorised by the Decree of the Assembly of the 15th of the same month to employ the military force to suppress the excesses committed by some soldiers who had revolted against the laws, and being anxious above all things to avoid the effusion of innocent blood, he invited the National Guard of Nancy, the good citizens, and the loyal soldiers to join him, and the soldiers misled by the Factious to return to their duty, and deliver up to him the ringleaders of the rebellion. He granted them twenty-four hours to answer this proclamation.

On the same day, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the town and garrison of Nancy sent him a deputation, composed of inhabitants chosen by the lowest class of the people, and of soldiers from the different regiments: at their head were the principal members of the Department, and of the Municipality, whom they had forced to accompany them by threats of hanging them if they refused. *M. de Bouillé* received this deputation in a large court, surrounded by his soldiers. He told the deputies of the troops of the line that he required that the three regiments should

should leave the town, and deliver up the leaders of the insurrection conformably to the Decree of the Assembly; that he required moreover that the two General Officers detained in prison should be set at liberty, that the gates of the town should be opened to the army under his command, and that the cannon in the hands of the mutineers should be given up to him. The members of the Department and of the Municipality were terrified and remained silent; but the deputies of the regiments assumed so insolent a tone, and spoke with such contempt of *M. de Bouillé's* orders, that it required all the General's authority to restrain the rage of the grenadiers about him, and to prevent them from cutting the villains to pieces. *M. de Bouillé* dismissed this deputation, telling them that he should immediately march with his army, and that the mutineers must expect to be treated with the greatest rigour. The members of the Department and of the Municipality having caused him to be privately informed that they should be in the greatest danger if they returned to the town, he did them the service to order them to remain with him.

The army was within a mile and half of
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the town, when a second deputation arrived from the regiments, accompanied by the officers, whom the soldiers had forced along with them. *M. de Bouillé* gave the same answer, and laid the same injunctions upon them as before. They desired an hour to consider of it, which he granted, and at the expiration of it ordered his van guard to march to one gate of the town, which was defended by troops and inhabitants, and several pieces of cannon. It was then four o'clock. A third deputation going out of the town by another gate now came up to the General, requested him to stop his army, and assured him that his orders should be obeyed; that the regiments were leaving the town, and that the two General Officers were to be given up to him. In fact, these officers arrived a few minutes after, and at the same time the regiments that composed the garrison were seen marching out of the town.

M. de Bouillé was overjoyed at finding this affair so happily terminated, and was conversing upon it with *M. de Noue*, *M. de Malseigne*, and some of the principal inhabitants, when the populace and a great many soldiers who had not followed their colours, on being summoned to give up the gate,

gate, entered into a quarrel with the advanced guard, composed of National Volunteers and Swifs, and were going to fire upon them from a cannon loaded with cannister shot, and planted at the gateway. A young officer of the King's regiment prevented them for some time, by fixing himself at the mouth of the cannon, from which he could not be moved till he had been shot at four times. The cannon was then fired, and a volley of small arms discharged at the same time upon the advanced guard. Fifty or sixty men were killed by this unexpected act of hostility. The volunteers return the fire and force the gate; they are no longer to be restrained, they put every man they meet to death, and are themselves fired upon from cellars, windows, and the tops of houses. *M. de Bouillé* leads his troops to the square, and draws them up in order of battle. The King's regiment, who had left the town, hearing the report of the guns, believed there had been some treachery and returned. Fortunately the officers prevailed upon their soldiers to march immediately to their quarters, and wait in order of battle till they were attacked. Had they joined in the fight upon re-entering the town the consequence would

have been a dreadful carnage, and the rebels being three times superior in number, would probably have remained masters of the day.

M. de Bouillé drawing off his men from the square, marched them by different streets to the arsenal and the quarters of the regiments, and a furious battle ensued between his army and the rebels, which lasted three hours. At length, at seven in the evening, the soldiers of the regiment *de Chateau-vieux* being almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and that of *Mestre-de-Camp* having fled, the King's regiment sent word to *M. de Bouillé* that they would surrender. The men were all under arms when the General went to their quarters alone, and found them very repentant: he ordered them to leave the town, and march to the place he had appointed for them. He sent the same orders to the remains of the regiment *de Chateau-vieux*, and all obeyed without the least resistance. *M. de Bouillé* then went immediately to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and reinstated the Department and Municipality in their employments. From that moment order was restored in the town.

The wisdom, ability, and courage which *M. de Bouillé* displayed this day, were

crowned with the most complete success. He was perhaps the only officer in France, who, with so inferior a force, would have attempted such a hazardous enterprise. Had he failed, it is more than probable that the regiments and populace of every garrison town would have followed the example of Nancy, and of course that murder and robbery would have desolated the principal towns of the kingdom. In this point of view, no doubt it was, that the King, who abhorred all injustice, who shuddered at the thought of shedding blood, and who in every thing, and above every thing, considered the happiness of his subjects, was so extremely affected by the service *M. de Bouillé* had done on this occasion, and for which he thanked him in a letter replete with kindness and affection *. On the other hand, however, had the rebels at Nancy triumphed, there is little doubt but that the credit of the Assembly, already in a very tottering state, would have been completely overthrown. The efficacy of their decrees in unhinging every thing, and their inability to re-establish order, or the safety of person and of property, would have been more

* See Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, chap. ix.

demonstrated

demonstrated than ever. An Assembly that could neither effect nor plan any thing but evil would have been scouted, and a simple motion at the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine* would have sufficed to have instigated the populace to drive them out of Paris ; and this was the reason why the Constitutionalists, who were very sensible of the dangers that threatened them, were not less satisfied than the King with the success of *M. de Bouillé* *. Had the Assembly been thus dissolved, the friends of order and of peace, and all men of property in the kingdom would have been forced to the alternative of leaving their property and their lives at the discretion of that monstrous usurping power, ever thirsting for blood and plunder, in a word of Jacobinism ; or of placing them under the beneficent, restorative, and legitimate protection of the royal authority, the re-establishment of which would have been instantly effected simply by their coalition with the Nobility, the Clergy, the faithful servants of the King, and with all the enemies of the Revolution and of the Jacobins. *M. Necker*, so discredited at that

* See *M. de la Fayette's* letter to *M. de Bouillé*, in the *Memoirs* of the latter.

period that he could no longer even support himself in the good graces of that Assembly for whom he had done so much, must inevitably have been involved in their fall: but *M. de St. Priest* would have remained in the Ministry, and his energy, disencumbered from all the shackles of an abjured constitution, would have been sufficient to overthrow the Jacobins, and with them the *Orleans* faction, who were exciting the army to rebellion by the manœuvres of their emissaries, with no other object than that of doing mischief; for it was impossible that they could hope to gain it over to a chief so completely a cypher as the Duke was. In short, it has been but too clearly proved that the result of the affair at Nancy did not save the Monarchy, and it is not altogether improbable that a different result might have been of advantage to it.

The dangers to which the insurrection of the troops exposed the Revolution did not escape *Mirabeau*; he proposed the most effectual means of obviating them; and particularly that “of disbanding the army, and of immediately recomposing it of the same individuals according to the organization decreed by the National Assembly, and sanctioned

sanctioned by the King, yet admitting only such soldiers and officers as took an oath of fulfilling the duties attached to their profession in the manner to be prescribed by the Assembly." This motion was greatly applauded ; but as the important measure which was the object of it could not take place till after the organization of the army, and there yet remained two reports to be made to conclude it, it was postponed till then.

The first articles of the plan for organizing the army had been drawn up according to the scheme delivered to the Military Committee by the Minister of War, and the Assembly had decreed them. By these it was fixed, that from the 1st of January 1791, the French army was to consist of 150,848 men, reckoning both officers and soldiers : of this number 10,139 were to be artillery and engineers, and 26,000 foreign troops. The number of general officers to be employed was limited to 94.

It was equally necessary to be expeditious in preventing or suppressing insurrections in the ports, and on board of the ships, as in the garrisons ; and the measure proposed by *Mirabeau* was still less adapted to the navy

than to the army. In fact, the Assembly had done nothing yet as to a plan of new organization for the navy, which was not even drawn up; but they notwithstanding put an end to all subordination in the fleets, on board the ships, and in the ports, by abrogating the old maritime penal laws, under pretence of their being incompatible with the principles of a free constitution, and by substituting a new code which entirely stripped the officers of the power of punishing their men, except in cases of mutiny, cowardice, or disobedience, in presence of an enemy. In no other case was corporal punishment permitted, but by the decision of a *naval jury*, to consist of four of the delinquent's Officers, and three of his comrades; and no punishment whatever was to be inflicted, unless determined by at least five votes out of seven.

The code entitled *Penal* was rather a formal invitation to disorder and mutiny, and might more justly have been entitled the code of impunity. Far from protecting the Officers from the insults and ill-treatment they now experienced from a class of men, from whom they had before that time received only respect and obedience, it exposed them without defence to all their outrages.

Could

Could those brave Officers, so eminent for their talents, and for their long and glorious services, submit without shame, or with any advantage to their Country, to so disgusting a state of degradation? certainly not; nor were they supposed capable of it; but they were gentlemen, they were true to honour and to their King, and could not be instrumental to the Revolution; it was therefore necessary to sacrifice them, although the total destruction of the French Navy must be the consequence of it; for it is not with the sea as with the land-service, and the Nation has but too dearly learned that the place of the best General of the army is a thousand times more easily supplied than that of a simple Lieutenant of a man of war. And what a moment too was it to choose for such an overthrow! When considerable equipments in England, and a difference between that Court and Spain obliged France to keep up a commanding naval force; when the Assembly themselves, convinced of the necessity of placing our navy on the most formidable footing, had decreed “that the King should be requested to give orders for augmenting the fleets in commission to forty-five sail of the

line, with a proportionate number of frigates and other vessels."

With the new code and revolutionary Admirals, these forty-five ships of the line would have been forty-five floating republics, of which the English fleets would have completely cleared the sea on the first occasion.

While the National Assembly, thus hurried away by the most fatal delirium, were attacking at once all ancient institutions, and all property, were annihilating the Army, the Navy, the Magistracy, and were destroying or disorganizing every thing, under pretence of re-constructing or re-organizing all; and while the Jacobin Clubs were propagating throughout the kingdom the fermentation and alarms which agitated the Capital, some moments of delight and comfort were experienced by worthy spirits, from an address sent from Bearn, which was dictated by the purest loyalty, and most affecting sensibility. The object of the address was this: the Assembly having declared that the domains of the Crown, the forests, castles, royal seats, &c. formed a part of the national property, had ordered them to be put up to sale, those excepted which the
King

King should think necessary to keep for his own use, or for that of his family. His Majesty had in consequence been applied to for a list of the Royal seats he thought proper to reserve. This list being sent to the Committee of the Domains, had become an object of the gross sarcasms of all the Revolutionary Journalists, and of the most scandalous declamations among the groups of the *Palais-Royal*, and at the Club of Jacobins *. The good Parisians thought the King asked too much; the WORTHY Bearnese thought he did not ask enough, and solicited him in the most affecting manner to add the Castle of Pau to the list of those he had reserved. In the address presented to the King by the Deputies from Bearn, the following expression was remarked, and re-perused with

* This list contained the following royal seats and domains: the Louvre, the Thuilleries, and houses belonging to them; the Champs Elizées, Vincennes, La Muette, Choisy le Roi, Versailles, Marly, St. Cloud, Meudon, St. Germain, with the houses and lands appendant; Fontainebleau, Compiègne, Rambouillet, with the ecclesiastical property lying within it, and the woods of the Abbaye de Barbaux, though on the other side of the water; Chambord, the estate of Le Pain in Normandy, the estate of Pompadour in Limousin. The two last estates were appropriated to the breed of horses.

pleasure:

pleasure: “ We renounced our Constitution, because your Majesty desired it, and the happiness of France required it ; but the Bearnese are extremely grieved to see that the cradle of the good King *Henry* is to be set up to sale : his castle is dearer to them than fortune or life.”

The King, greatly affected by this address, added the Castle of Pau to the list, and struck out several others, hoping by that means to put an end to the insolent clamours that were made, and with impunity, under his very windows. His Majesty wrote a letter to the Assembly on this occasion in the following terms :

Paris, August 27.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ You know that it was not till after I had been repeatedly urged by you that I interposed in the settlement of my Civil List, and in the last place that I mentioned the Palaces and Domains to be reserved for me. I understand that the list I sent to you by *M. de St. Priest*, containing these objects, has given grounds to misinterpretations.

“ I think I have no occasion to put you in mind of the little importance I attach to all that concerns my own interests, or my
personal

personal pleasures, and how much I make them yield to the public interest.

“ I willingly relinquish a great part of the places inserted, though there were several chosen from motives of public utility, or to preserve agreeable walks for the inhabitants of Paris: but I shall confine myself to the following. The Louvre and the Thuilleries, with the houses depending upon them, and which are the more necessary for me, as my usual residence will be at Paris; Versailles, Fontainebleau, Compiègne, St. Cloud, St. Germain, and Rambouillet, with the domains and woods appendant. You will also think it very natural that I should have it at heart to keep the Castle of Pau, which produces no revenue: it is impossible for me not to concur in the wish of the inhabitants of Bearn, that the place where *Henry IV.* was born should always remain in the hands of his children.

“ I relinquish also the ecclesiastical property lying within the bounds of my domains, and which I thought suitable to a pious foundation which I am planning.

“ As to my chases, about which you have desired to know my intentions, *I am particularly solicitous of enjoying no pleasures*

pleasures that may be burdensome to any of my subjects : I entirely trust to the arrangements you may think it necessary to adopt ; and I beg you never to forget that my greatest interests are those of the Nation, and the comfort of the people : it is these that affect me most essentially, and which I feel truly personal.

(Signed) “ LOUIS.”

Such was the warm affection which *Louis XVI.* constantly manifested for his people, and which neither the ingratitude nor the crimes of that deluded Nation could ever weaken. The veil which concealed those of the 5th and 6th of October 1789, was about to be drawn : the Committee of Reports had demanded in the Sitting of the 31st of August to be authorised to cause the proceedings of the Chatelet relative to those outrages to be printed, in order to put the Assembly in full possession of the circumstances to enable them to decide upon the account which was soon to be laid before them. It was already known what was to be the result of the Report of this Committee, entirely composed of revolutionary fanatics, or villains largely paid by the Duke of Orleans,

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so that *Mirabeau* was in this respect perfectly safe: but he feared that if the proceedings should be printed before the report, the shamefulness of it might be so evident as to render the issue of the business very doubtful. “Consider, Gentlemen,” cried he, “that it will require a long time to print
“twelve hundred rolls of proceedings; that
“this business demands the greatest dispatch; and that consequently the Committee should make their report as soon as
“ever they are ready to submit it to us.
“They wish to publish the vouchers first
“for the information of the public: this
“intention is upright; but is it just to leave
“the accused for many weeks more under, I
“will not say anguish, but the odious suspicions cast upon them? I cannot be suspected of secret motives in the remonstrances I submit to your justice on this
“point, because in the end all will be
“known. As to that,” added he with matchless effrontery, “it is all the same to
“me—I say all the same, for my modesty
“is not so great as to prevent me from seeing
“that in the arraignment and trial
“of the Revolution I must have a place.”
This remarkable expression, by which *Mirabeau*

mirabeau not only confessed himself guilty, but gloried in it, obtained twice the general plaudits of the gallery, and of a great part of the Assembly.

Here then we have the secret of those horrid days completely disclosed, and irrevocably proved. The crimes with which they were stained can no longer be considered as an accidental occurrence of the Revolution; they entered essentially into its plan: they were at once the principle and the means of it, and formed a horrible coalescence with it, which will reflect an indelible shame upon its authors, upon their accomplices, and all their adherents.

The Assembly adopted *Mirabeau's* motion: they ordered the proceedings of the Chatelet to be printed, but decreed at the same time that the report of the business should not be delayed on that account. It was also decreed at the same Sitting, that the Members who had been examined on the information should not vote on the judgment. This decision was conformable to the rules, so far as it concerned those whose depositions went to criminate, or to exculpate the two Deputies alluded to by the Chatelet; but there was evidently no cause for it as to those
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who had made no mention, direct or indirect, of one or the other; and the more so, as the point was *not* to pass a judgment on an accusation tried, but only to determine whether there were or were not grounds for an accusation. It is true too, that by excluding a great many worthy and intrepid members from voting, the majority was still farther secured to the *Coté-Gauche*, and this motive was doubtless of the greatest weight.

On this occasion another frank remark escaped from *Mirabeau*, which was very highly applauded by the *Coté-Gauche* and the galleries, and which ought not to be passed over in silence. One of the Members of the Assembly having proposed that it should be ascertained in the first place whether the King's Solicitor of the Chatelet had caused the Decrees passed in respect to these proceedings against certain persons to be put in execution or not, *Mirabeau* replied, and twice repeated, that the flight of the witnesses was at least as probable as that of the accused; "and yet," added he gaily, "the accused take no measures to prevent the flight of the witnesses." His remark was but too just; the witnesses in fact incurred

curred much more danger than the accused: these were agents protected by the Revolution, and those could not fail to be objects of its vengeance.

Of the eminent accomplices of this Revolution *Mr. Necker* was almost the only one it no longer protected. At this period he miserably terminated his ministerial career, after swallowing to the very dregs the bitter cup of humiliation which his foolish vanity had but too much merited. He did not even obtain the honour of settling the time of his retreat, so pathetically announced for four months in the perorations of all his memorials. He was compelled to a precipitate flight, in order to escape the fury of that very populace whose idol he had been. The vexations he suffered in the end, present too important a lesson to be neglected by history.

During the last two months of his ministry, *Mr. Necker* experienced almost every day the pain of finding himself attacked in the newspapers, and in the Assembly, sometimes by the bitterest sarcasms, and nobody bore this kind of attack less philosophically than he, and sometimes by charges more or less serious, which he could not avoid answering.

swering. Thus, while the wits ridiculed the letter which he sent with his account from the month of May 1789, to the month of May 1790, and in which he confessed *that he could not answer for the arithmetical part* of that account of fifteen hundred millions, and offered only *to be surety for the moral part*, the Committee of Finances rejected all his plans, the speakers on both sides of the house opposed them, and the indefatigable censurer, *Camus*, had every day some new quarrel to pick with *M. Necker*. The Minister complained heavily of this, but to no purpose, in a justification which he addressed on the 1st of August to the Assembly: “Every day,” said he, “renders my administration more painful, and as the moment is at hand when I shall retire from the world, and from business, I wish if any charges yet remain against me, that they may be brought forward; I am afraid of no proof.”—“Since he is going away,” said the more moderate, “let him go in peace.”

Mr. Necker, however, did not go, and on the 17th of the same month he sent another memorial to the Assembly relative to the Decrees on the Pensions. The reading

of it was frequently interrupted by murmurs, which were violently increased at the following expression: “Is it conformable to your principles to bestow the disposal of favours on the Legislative Body, and by so doing completely enfeeble the Government, which could not dispose of the pettyest office?” There was a general cry for the order of the day; and on the President’s inviting the Assembly to hear the memorial of the King’s Minister to the end, a Deputy of the *Tiers-Etat* opposed it with the whole force of his lungs. “We are not obliged,” cried he, “to hear these ministerial insolences.” However, the reading of the memorial was continued; but scarcely was it finished when the Assembly passed to the order of the day, without even doing this memorial the honour of referring it to one of their Committees, a compliment which they had hitherto paid to all the memorials of the Ministers. The President had at first pronounced this useless reference, but he was compelled by the loudest remonstrances to put it to the vote, and by a great majority it was determined that they should simply pass to the order of the day.

Mr. Necker, who was for ever speaking
of

of his departure without ever being able to put it in execution, sent another memorial ten days after to the Assembly, relative to a report which he had heard that the Committee of Finances intended to make on the public debt, and in which they meant to propose a creation of 18 or 1900 millions of Assignats for the payment of the unfunded debt. He observed that as this plan had not been communicated to him, he fulfilled his duty towards the State and the National Assembly by declaring that he had given no support to this measure, and by manifesting his uneasiness at the difficulties that must result from it.

This memorial is certainly one of the best *M. Necker* ever composed. He there proved, by irrefragable arguments founded on experience, on the simplest calculation, and on the most evident principles, that the measure projected was equally unjust and impolitic, and as disastrous to the State as to the Nation. "Is this the time," said he, "and are we in circumstances to stake so dangerously the present against the future? The idea of converting the public debt into Assignats, and to constrain it in this manner to be exchanged

for national domains is great, but morality is still greater; and whatever departs from its principles is rather a remarkable deviation than a grand thought."

The idea of being the creators of so prodigious a mass of riches was too flattering to the vanity of many of the Members of the Assembly, and the covetousness of others built too much hope on private speculations, and even on the chances of extravagance which so immense an emission might offer, to suffer either of these descriptions of men to be otherwise than extremely dissatisfied with the Minister's memorial. It was heard, however, without a murmur; but it was no sooner read through than the Assembly, without referring it to the Committee, or paying the least attention whatever to it, broke up the Sitting. *Mr. Necker's* enemies observed with uneasiness that he had forgotten to mention his departure, and fearing that he might have given up the thought of it, soon took effectual steps to revive his resolution.

On the 2d of September, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, dreadful noises were heard about the Hall, and in the garden
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of the Thuilleries, where there was an immense croud, which had been assembling ever since five o'clock in the morning, and which was joined by the permanent groups of the *Palais Royal*. The cries most distinctly heard amidst their imprecations were, *Death to De Bouillé*, and *dismiss the Ministers*. The clamours of tumult rose to such a pitch, that it was feared the doors of the Hall would be forced; but the National Guard being doubled, repressed those seditious movements by their firmness, prudence, and activity. The fermentation appeared to be appeased for some hours; but towards night new riots were made, and the streets rung with vociferations. This revolutionary farce was only played off to frighten *M. Necker*, and he was completely duped by it. At eight o'clock at night *M. de la Fayette* sent an Aid-de-Camp to him, to apprise him of the danger that threatened him, and to advise him to leave his house. Accompanied by this Aid-de-Camp, he left Paris as secretly as possible, and fled for shelter to his country-house at St. Ouen. His arriving at so late an hour, and so unexpectedly, having caused some bustle in the

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village,

village, though merely of curiosity, he was afraid to go to bed at home, and wandered the whole night in the valley of Montmorenci. What torment could be more dreadful than that which he must have experienced at this moment of horror, when all the illusions of self-love, all the chimeras of ambition, vanishing like an empty shadow, left him a prey to his recollection, his regret, his merited remorse. He could not now dignify his disgrace by imputing it to a court intrigue; he was ignominiously driven away by general censure, by public contempt. He returned to Paris the next morning, and set out that very day to go and drink the waters at Plombieres. Before his departure, he finally announced his retreat to the Assembly by the following letter:

“Gentlemen, My health has long been in a declining state, from a continual succession of labours attended with pain and uneasiness. I nevertheless deferred, from day to day, a plan I had formed of taking advantage of the fine season of the year to go and drink the waters, which have been prescribed as absolutely necessary for me.

Listening

Listening only to my zeal, I had entered upon another extraordinary labour, in compliance with the wish of the Assembly, which was expressed to me by the Committee of Finances; but a return of the complaints, from which I was in great danger last winter, and the extreme uneasiness of a wife, as virtuous as she is dear to my heart, have determined me to delay no longer my plan of retreat, and of returning to the asylum I quitted in obedience to your orders. You are now approaching the term of your sessions, and I am not in a state to enter upon a new career.

“ The Assembly demanded of me an account of the receipts and disbursements of the public treasury from the 1st of July 1789, to May 1790. It was delivered to them on the 21st of July last.

“ The Assembly have charged their Committee of Finances to examine it, and several Members of the Committee have divided the work amongst them. I think they would have already discovered it, if there appeared any expence, or other arrangement, liable to censure; which is the only inquiry that essentially concerns the Minister: for the cal-

culations of the particulars, the inspection of the vouchers, the examination of receipts, which necessarily require much time, are particularly applicable to the management of the payers, receivers, and other persons accountable.

“ However, I offer and leave as a security for my administration my house in Paris, my country-house, and my funds in the Royal Treasury: the amount of these have long been 2,400,000 livres, from which I desire to take only 400,000 livres, as the situation of my affairs on quitting Paris renders that sum necessary for me: the remainder I leave without fear under the protection of the Nation. I cannot but feel an interest in preserving the remembrance of a deposit from which I think I derive some honour, as I placed those funds in the Treasury at the beginning of the last war, and as through consideration to the continual wants of the State I never withdrew them, not even in the most alarming circumstances, in which others had the administration of affairs.

“ The enmity and injustice I have experienced gave me the idea of offering a security; but when I compare the thought with
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my conduct in the administration of the finances, I cannot but reckon it among the extraordinary circumstances of my life.

(Signed) “NECKER.”

“P. S. The sufferings I experience at this moment prevent my adding in this letter the various opinions which on this occasion I could have wished to have interspersed.”

This letter being delivered to the President on the 3d of September, just as the Sitting was about to be adjourned, was not read till the day following. It was heard with indifference by some, and with unequivocal marks of pleasure by others; unmixed with a single regret, a single expression of concern or esteem for the fugitive Minister*. The Assembly thought only of seizing his spoils, and

* About fifty leagues from Paris *M. Necker* was arrested by the Municipality of Arcis on the Aube, on suspicion of attempting to withdraw from his responsibility. He wrote the humblest and most respectful representation to the Assembly, beseeching them to order that he should be suffered to proceed upon his journey. His letter was read to the Assembly in the Sitting of the 4th of September, and it was decreed that this Municipality should be ordered to set him at liberty. The Assembly at the same time adopted the form of a letter to be written by their President to *Mr. Necker*, and which was in the coldest and most

and without giving the King time to nominate a successor to *Mr. Necker*, they immediately decreed that their Committees of Constitution and Finances should, without delay, present a plan for the organization and management of the public revenue.

On the same day the Committee of Finances charged to present a plan for the liquidation of the national debt published a very circumstantial account of it, which is the more requisite to be known, as it states very accurately the situation of France at that period.

This account is divided into three parts, and the following is a sketch of it.

The first part contains statements of the debt, of which the principal is sunk, provided the Government pays the interest punctually.

The second contains statements of the debt then demandable, or which would be made so by the decrees suppressing all places that had been purchased.

most mortifying style. He did not receive it till the 12th of the month, when he immediately continued his journey. He was again stopped by the people at Vesoul; but the Municipality interfered, and on his making the Decree of the Assembly known to them, suffered him to depart.

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The third includes statements of the debt, of which the principal was to be paid annually, by virtue of agreements at fixed periods settled at the time of the loans.

The funded debt was composed, 1st, of the annuities, the total amount of which was 106,324,846. According to the Committee we may estimate the extinctions of 1788, 1789, and 1790, at 4,500,000: so that on the 1st of January 1791, the annuities must have been reduced to 101,824,846 livres. 2d, The perpetual dividends, of which the total amount was 65,913,973 livres. The interest of the funded debt, both annuities and perpetual dividends, amounted then to 167,737,819 livres.

* The debt, of which the principal was

* *Mr. Necker* asserted in a Memorial which he sent to the Assembly some days after his departure, and which was read in the Sitting of the 17th of September, that the arrears due to the Departments, the offices of the magistracy, and the military houses of the King, Queen, and Princes, were the only debts demandable, and of which the liquidation might be begun without delay. He refuted the Committee's plan, and proposed instead of a creation of two thousand millions of Assignats, to confine themselves to admitting in payment for national property all public contracts and securities relating to the national debt.

to

to be paid, included in the second part of the Committee's account, was composed, 1st, of the rent-charges granted by the clergy, the payment of which was thought indispensable by the Committee to give validity to the sale of the estates on which they were secured. The principal of these rent-charges was 149,434,469 livres, and the interest 5,833,126 livres, that is, 1,638,597 livres and 9 sols under what it would have been at 5 per cent.

2dly, Of the price paid for the offices of the magistracy now suppressed, which the Committee estimated at 450,000,000 livres, and of which the interest paid by the Treasury was only 9,353,160 livres, that is, 13,146,840 livres less than it would have been at the rate of 5 per cent.

3dly, Of the price paid for the offices of Finance, amounting to 118,143,885 livres.

4thly, Of securities for money, of which the principal amounted to 203,401,400 livres.

5thly, Of the money paid for the employments in the household of the King, Queen, and Princes, amounting to the sum of 52,000,000 livres.

6thly, Of the money paid for the military employments and posts, the principal of which was 35,121,984 livres.

7thly,

7thly, Of the money paid for Governments and Lieutenantcies of Provinces, of which the principal was 3,783,150 livres.

8thly, Of the compensation for the impropriations of feudal tithes, estimated by the Committee at a hundred millions.

9thly, Of the part of the reimbursements at certain periods become due, estimated as a principal of 107,856,925 livres.

10thly, Of the arrears of the Departments, of which the principal was estimated at the sum of 120,000,000 livres.

The total then of these ten articles of the demandable debt was 1,339,741,813 livres.

The third part, including the debt of which the principal was to be paid annually by virtue of agreements at fixed periods, amounted altogether to 538,274,921 livres. It was composed, 1st, of the loan of September 1789—51,939,768 livres. 2dly, Of the loans of Holland and Genoa, 18,330,970 livres. 3dly, Of the advances made by the farmers of Sceaux and of Poissy, 902,675 livres. 4thly, Of the loans nearly due, 390,101,508 livres. 5thly, Of the annuities of the notaries and of the *Caisse d'Escompte*, 77,000,000 livres.

Thus the debt to be paid amounted in the whole

whole to 1,878,16,734 livres : upon which I shall only observe, that the eight first articles of the second chapter, which amounted to 1,111,834,888 livres, were not demandable debts till rendered so by the spoliations and suppressions resulting from the Decrees of the Assembly ; and that the reimbursement of them, at a time when money was at least at 5 per cent. added to the mass of interest which the State had to pay, 1st, on the article of the rents granted by the Clergy, 1,638,597 livres 9 sols ; 2dly, on the offices of the magistracy, 13,146,840 livres ; 3dly, on the impropriations of feudal tithes, 5,000,000 livres : in the whole, 19,785,437 livres 9 sols. And this was what those gentlemen called *restoring* the finances !

CHAPTER XXX.

Arts used by the Jacobins in exciting Insurrections—They are denounced to the Assembly—The insufficiency of the Measures adopted—Insurrection at Brest—Irruption of some Thousands of Brigands into the Park of Versailles—The King determines to give up his Hunt—Conduct of the Assembly on that Occasion—The King's Answer—Vexatious Proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry—Arrest of Madame de Persan—Pretended Conspiracy at Turin—Camp at Jalès—Plan for Liquidation of the National Debt—Extraordinary Project proposed by M. d'Esprémenil on that occasion—Report upon the Proceedings of the Chatelet concerning the Outrages of

of the 6th of October—M. de Bonnai refutes the Calumnies which the Reporter thought proper to introduce against the Gardes du Corps—Mirabeau's Defence—Motions by M. de Montlauzier and the Abbé Maury—The Côté-Droit take no part in the Debate—The Assembly declare that there are no Grounds for Accusation against the Duke of Orleans, or Mirabeau—Noble Conduct of the Queen.

THE seditious movements which had compelled the Minister at the head of the Finances to take flight, were very soon appeased after his departure. But as they had not been preceded by any apparent cause, or any circumstance of a nature to irritate the people, no person doubted but that this fermentation, evidently a contrived one, was raised by the enemies of *Mr. Necker*; that is to say, by the principal members of the *Côté-Gauche*, aided by the Club of Jacobins, who conducted the *department of insurrections*. The arts used to produce it were very simple, and attended with very little expence. *Dupont de Nemours* exposed and denounced them to the Assembly

Assembly in the Sitting of the 7th of September. The day and place where the insurrection was to break out were announced publicly several days before-hand, sometimes in the Revolutionary Journals, sometimes by bills posted up in the Fauxbourgs, the public gardens, and other places, and which were frequently sent to a great distance, according to the degree of force they wished to give to the commotion. The following was the form of those placards, which were also often distributed as handbills under the title of *Advice to the People, to the Patriots, &c. &c. &c.*

“ There will happen on *such a day* at
 “ a great commotion
 “ assassinations a rich pillage,
 “ preceded by a manual distribution
 “ for the subaltern chiefs, *for tried*
 “ *men,*” &c. &c.

This advertisement was sufficient to set in motion all the brigands to whose knowledge it came; they repaired to the appointed place, and mixed with the groups already formed by 30 or 40 mob-orators, chosen from amongst the most violent, and by some

hundreds of noisy bawlers hired for the occasion, and who were soon joined by the crowd of idlers and blockheads who form the rabble of great towns. *The patriotic gratuity to stanch followers* was commonly half-a-crown, or five shillings, according to their situation and services. In extraordinary cases it was doubled. Trusty agents mingling with the crowd also invited such as had joined for amusement, or who were volunteers, to add their clamours to the vociferations of the insurgent groups, and offered them twelve livres to engage in the business. Several depositions, taken at the Mayor's office, and by the Officers of the National Guard, stated that in the insurrection of the 2d of September this offer had been made to many worthy persons, who had followed the multitude out of curiosity; and that the twelve livres had even been thrust into the hands of several without any answer being required.

The Assembly, upon the formal denunciation of these circumstances, passed a Decree, ordering prosecutions to be instituted in all the Courts against certain persons, who, on Thursday the 2d of September, had made motions for assassination under the windows

windows of the National Assembly ; against the instigators of those motions ; and against those who had distributed money for that purpose.

By the same Decree the Municipal Officers of Paris were ordered to attend carefully to the execution of the Decrees passed by the Assembly for the maintenance of order and public tranquillity. It was but too evident, however, that the old Courts, long rendered obnoxious to the people as being filled with Aristocrats and enemies of the Revolution, and now having but a short time to exist, would not have the imprudence to expose themselves without necessity to fresh resentments, and perhaps even to great dangers, by commencing prosecutions and informations which they could not flatter themselves they should be able to terminate, and which their successors, in their haste to render themselves popular, would not fail to set aside. Besides, what zeal against insurrections could be expected from that Commune, who, making a distinction between the crimes of the 5th of October and those of the day following, had even at the very time the effrontery to extol the former, and to accuse the Chatelet, who had combined both days in

its proceedings, of arraigning the Revolution. It was therefore very evident, that notwithstanding the Decree of the Assembly, insurrections could neither be prevented nor quelled; and of course they spread and broke out in every part of the kingdom with greater violence than ever. I shall confine myself to such as particularly attracted the attention of the Assembly.

At Brest, the continual riots of the shipwrights caused the greatest uneasiness. Four galley-slaves were arrested at the moment they were going to set fire to the arsenal: They had made their way into the storehouse that contained the pitch and tar, and upon them was found a false key, a file, and two bundles of matches. Scarcely had the ship *Le Leopard*, in which the General Assembly of St. Domingo had escaped, entered Brest, when its crew communicated the spirit of disorder and revolt with which it was infected to all the ships of the squadron lying in the harbour. In a short time the sailors, turning the King's orders, the new code, and the Decrees of the Assembly into ridicule, refused to obey their Officers, and insulted them most grossly. "The strongest are to make the laws," said they, "and we are
1 the

the strongest. *Vive la Nation!* Away with the Aristocrats, to the lantern!" They erected a gallows at the door of *M. de Marigny*, an Officer of high rank in the Navy, as estimable for his talents, courage and bravery, as for the energy of his character. *M. D'Albert de Rioms*, who had the command of the squadron, having tried in vain every means with the most moderate to bring them to reason, quitted his ship, and went ashore. As he stepped into the boat, several of the seamen called to the cockswain to overset her. *M. de Marigny* gave in his resignation, and applied for a court-martial; and *M. D'Albert* wrote to the Minister, that he absolutely saw no other means of restoring order at Brest, than by sending thither a Commission, composed of Members of the National Assembly.

The Assembly, who, upon all occasions of this kind, had but two modes of proceeding, the one to declare themselves *deeply afflicted*, the other to be *justly enraged*, though their grief was as little affecting as their indignation formidable, adopted the latter of these modes in the present case, and decreed that the King should be entreated to order that prosecutions according to law should be com-

menced against the principal authors of the insurrection, and against those who had insulted *M. Marigny* and their Officers. This was sending them before a maritime jury, by which their accomplices would be their judges; and it would have been as well not to have brought them to a trial. The Assembly did not judge it necessary or proper to send a deputation to Brest, as proposed by *M. D'Albert*; they contented themselves with decreeing “that the King should be
“ requested to appoint two Civil Commis-
“ sioners, who should be authorised to
“ take as associates two Members of the
“ Municipality of Brest, in order to con-
“ sult upon what further measures might
“ be necessary for the re-establishment of
“ discipline and subordination in the fleet,
“ and of order in the town of Brest.”

The Commissioners could apply no remedy: they were no more respected than the Officers, and a fortnight afterwards *M. D'Albert* was obliged to give in his resignation.

September 14th.] About the same period two or three thousand brigands, armed with muskets and clubs, forced the inclosures of the Great Park of Versailles, threatened the
Palace,

Palace, and committed all manner of havoc, not only in the King's liberties, but upon all the property within the Park.

The Municipal Officers of Versailles denounced these disorders, which had lasted four days, to the Assembly, and entreated them to employ the most effectual means to put a stop to them. In the mean time they were informed that the King had come to a resolution to give up his Hunt. The Factious, ever ready to impute to the enemies of the Revolution the excesses which were the consequences of it, did not on the present occasion forego their usual arts; they even pretended that the troubles at Versailles were connected with those at Brest, Nancy, and other places; that they had all of them been preceded and excited by distributions of money, for the sole purpose of fulying a Revolution the most important, the most salutary, the most happy. The idea of the King's giving up his Hunt was equally attributed by *Charles de Lameth* to " perfidious counsellors, whose aim," said he, " was to create disgust in the breast of every Frenchman to the National Assembly, by making him believe that they wished to deprive a King, whom they love, of an

“ exercise in which he had always taken
“ great pleasure.” He proposed, in consequence, to add to the Decree which the Assembly were about to pass relative to the disturbances at Versailles, an article enjoining the President to wait upon the King, and entreat him not to give up his Hunt; to assure him that the Assembly would use the whole force of the law in support of the personal enjoyments of the Monarch; and that they should be very sorry to find his Majesty foregoing them. In this manner was the Decree finally drawn up, which, from the known principle of those who supported it, and from its being almost unanimously adopted, was suspected of hypocrisy. But there was no appearance of it in the speech which the President of the Assembly (*Bureau de Puzy*) the same day made to the King, in presenting him the Decree: I shall only cite from it the following expressions.

“ The National Assembly, grieved at the
“ determination which your Majesty has
“ taken to deprive yourself of some of the
“ amusements which afforded you recreation
“ and pleasure, dare to hope, Sire, that you
“ will relinquish the thought of this sacrifice,
“ highly honourable indeed to you,
“ but

“ but which would be too painful to an
“ affectionate people, whose happiness is
“ inseparable from the personal satisfaction
“ of the King. Deign, Sire, to give the
“ Representatives of the Nation an inesti-
“ mable token of your confidence and good-
“ ness by sanctioning this Decree, which
“ contains a proof of their anxiety to please
“ you: and, Sire, we conjure you not to
“ judge by the cautious and formal terms
“ which constitute the style of the law of the
“ degree of solicitude felt by the National
“ Assembly, that you should yield to a wish
“ dictated by the purest respect, attachment,
“ and affection for the person of your Ma-
“ jesty.” The King replied with his usual
candour, “ that as he had not taken the di-
“ version of hunting for a year past, and
“ as he did not intend it for some time to
“ come, he had thought himself bound in
“ the mean time to save the expences at-
“ tending his Hunt; but that hereafter, when
“ his heart was more at rest, he should re-
“ sume it.”

The printing of this answer and the Pre-
sident's speech was voted unanimously, either
out of respect and in token of approbation,
or to make the people believe that the un-
easiness

easiness experienced by the King was not to be imputed to the Assembly, but to the enemies of the Revolution. And where were the enemies of this horrible Revolution! As yet it could be said only to have had victims; for those who were dissatisfied with it were without means, without leaders near them, without a rallying point; they were besides kept in check by the King's situation, and could not be considered, whatever their number, as real and effective enemies. They detested the Revolution as lambs do wolves, and made as little resistance to it: yet they were not the less constantly watched, pursued, accused, and arrested, through the indefatigable diligence of the emissaries of the Committees of Inquiry, upon the slightest, and often upon the most groundless information. A letter written from Turin by the Abbé *de Cordon*, a Piedmontese, Count *de Lyon*, to the young Marchioness *de Persan*, was found about the 15th of August in one of her pockets, which had been sent to be washed, and was kept for three weeks by the person who washed for her, whose name was *Cuff*, and who could not read. At the end of that time this person shewed it to some gossips in the neighbourhood to make out the meaning of it, and they,

they, after reading it, gave the patriotic counsel of depositing it with the district. *Cuff* made no scruple of committing this treacherous action, which in former times would have been severely punished, and attended with the loss of customers; but which, in the new system of things, was calculated to gain the wretch not only a large pecuniary reward, but also the protection and custom of the zealous patriots.

This letter was no sooner deposited with the District, than it was sent to the Committee of Inquiry, who immediately dispatched their satellites to seize Madame *de Persan*, and her papers, and to bring her before the Committee; who, having examined her, sent her back to her own house under a strong guard, and spent the whole night in drawing up a most alarming report, to be presented next day, upon the dreadful plot contrived at Turin with the Abbé *de Cordon*. The reporter (*Voidel*) stated no other grounds for suspecting the existence of this plot than the letter in question; and particularly the following expressions in it.

“ The further we proceed, and the nearer
“ we approach the blow, the more dangerous
“ will

“ will it be to receive the shock. The mine
“ is daily charging, and I shall be able to
“ inform you when the explosion will take
“ place. The crash it will make is incal-
“ culable, but expect it, and take your pre-
“ cautions in time to avoid being struck.
“ This is all as your friend I can at present
“ say to you.”

Madame *de Perjan* being interrogated concerning this letter, declared that it was an answer to a question which she had put to the Abbé *de Cordon* concerning the projects of Sardinia. Could the Committee of Inquiry, who were accurately informed of every thing that had the least reference to the Revolution by their own innumerable spies, and by the emissaries spread by the Jacobin Club throughout Europe, have been ignorant of this conspiracy, had any such in reality existed? Could so formidable a mine have been charged in Piedmont? Could the immense preparations necessary on the occasion be made so secretly, that nothing should transpire during six weeks but what was revealed by the treachery of the person who washed for Madame *de Perjan*? In a word, is it not evident that this ridiculous conspiracy, whether mentioned seriously or in jest by the Abbé *de Cordon*,

Cordon, had no existence but in his letter, no foundation but that of a simple conjecture.

The Assembly nevertheless took the report on this affair, which was laid before them by the Committee of Inquiry, into serious consideration ; and decreed that the President should wait upon the King to request that he would give orders to the Chatelet to proceed against the Abbé *de Cordon* as being privy to a plot against the public liberty, and to prosecute the authors, abettors, adherents, and accomplices of the said plot.

It was ordered by the same Decree that Madame *de Persan* should not leave Paris till she had made her deposition, and given security to appear personally at the trial, if there should be occasion.

Notwithstanding this Decree, the Committee continued to keep Madame *de Persan* under arrest in her own house, and she was obliged to apply for a new Decree in order to obtain her liberty.

The Committee of Inquiry would not have attached so much importance to this affair, but that they doubtless flattered themselves to find in the conspiracy of Turin the source of another conspiracy, which they had denounced

nounced two days before; for this unhappy Committee, sleeping or waking, were continually haunted with conspiracies. They perceived this new one in the resolutions of the federate camps at Jalés, in the department of Ardeche, or rather in the imprudent commentaries made upon them by some anti-revolutionary Journalists, and in the foolish hopes which they attached to their being put in practice.

These famous resolutions were entered into at the Castle of Jalés, near which the National Guards of the departments of Ardeche, Herault, and Lozere, had been assembled and encamped, for the purpose of solemnly renewing, as an embodied army, the oath taken at the Federation. After the ceremony, the Staff Officers, the federate Committee, the Mayors, the Municipal Officers, and many deputies from the army, met in the castle, and resolved:

“ 1. That the citizens detained in the
“ prisons of Nismes since the troubles which
“ had agitated that city, should be removed
“ from the department of the Gard, and
“ immediately tried, according to the ordi-
“ nary course of the laws, that they may
“ be

“ be punished if guilty, and restored to the
“ community if innocent.

“ 2. That full reparation should be made
“ for the losses occasioned by those troubles.

“ 3. That the National Assembly and the
“ King should be entreated to remove the
“ regiment of Guienne from Nismes, where
“ they were in garrison.

“ 4. That the Catholics of Nismes, and
“ of the department of the Gard, should be
“ reinstated in all their rights as French ci-
“ tizens, which they should freely and
“ peaceably enjoy while they conformed to
“ the Decrees of the Representatives of the
“ Nation sanctioned by the King, and that
“ their arms should be restored to them.

“ 5. That there should be sent a conci-
“ liatory deputation to the Staff Officers and
“ members of the National Guard of Mont-
“ pellier to receive instructions from them
“ relative to the affairs of Nismes, and to
“ act together with the same wisdom they
“ had hitherto displayed for the purpose of
“ finally re-establishing good order in the
“ said city.

“ 6. That if the plan of conciliation pro-
“ posed by the army should not have the
“ success they might expect, they should
“ entreat

“ entreat the National Affembly and the
“ King to interpose their paternal and su-
“ preme authority to establish and render
“ justice to all who shall claim it.

“ 7. That the Committee of the Camp
“ of Jalés should be permanent; that they
“ should be increased, and the members
“ changed according to the wish of the elec-
“ tors; that they should take cognifance
“ of the different petitions made, or to be
“ made, by the members of the army; that
“ they should endeavour to reconcile the dif-
“ agreements which may arise amongst
“ them; and finally, that they should be a
“ central point for all the federated National
“ Guards, corresponding concerning all things
“ relative to the Federation, the whole with
“ the approbation of the department of Ar-
“ deche in all things within its jurisdiction;
“ and that the expences of the Committee
“ should be defrayed by the whole depart-
“ ment.”

The first articles of these resolutions were inconsistent with some clauses in the decrees which had been passed relative to the troubles of Nîmes; but it was evidently without malice or evil intent that the Committee of Jalés, who seemed to have forgotten or mis-
understood

understood those decrees, had adopted wiser, juster, and more conciliatory measures than those of the Assembly, whose supreme power they did not the less acknowledge and respect, and to whose authority they solemnly professed the most perfect submission.

All these testimonies of respect, of deference, and of entire confidence in the National Assembly, were considered by the Committee of Inquiry only as *a deceitful show, a perfidious and artful mask, concealing the formal intention of disobeying, of raising commotions in all the departments, and of renewing the scenes of horror which the Assembly had before lamented* *.

But it was the last article that particularly contained the *grand plot*; for it tended to establish, under the title of *Federal Committee*, a very respectable club, composed of the true friends of order, of peace, and even of the Constitution; not one like that of the Jacobins, which only bore the title, but on the contrary one in constant and effectual opposition with its principles, intrigues, and manœuvres, which only tended to the sub-

* Report of *M. de Sillery*, in the Sitzings of Sept. 7.

version of all monarchical institutions, of all property, and to the dissolution of all social order. Unhappily the Committee of Inquiry, and most of the Deputies of the *Coté-Gauche*, were members of the Club of Jacobins, and consequently much interested in stifling in its birth so dangerous a rival as the Federal Committee, which might very soon have become the rallying point of the Federates of all the National Guards of the kingdom. We may judge how much the whole Assembly was alarmed at it by the extraordinary severity of the Decree which they unanimously adopted upon the motion of the Committee of Inquiry. They did not content themselves with declaring the resolutions of the Camp at Jals null, unconstitutional, and criminal in the eye of the law, &c. nor with forbidding the Federal Committee to meet, and all the National Guards of the kingdom to form any federate camp; but they ordered that the authors, abettors, and instigators of those resolutions should be prosecuted in the respective jurisdictions to which they belonged.

To this extreme rigour the most benign indulgence suddenly succeeded, when the question turned upon repressing the popular insurrections, the outrages and innumerable excesses

that every where invaded the public tranquillity, and prevented not only the receipt of the seigneurial dues reserved till redeemed, but also the circulation of grain, and the gathering of the taxes. In several villages gallowses were erected to frighten those who were willing to pay their rents or fines due to their lords. *M. de St. Priest* wrote on the part of the King to the President, to desire him to inform the Assembly of these outrages, of the demand made by several departments for troops of the line, and of the impossibility of sending a sufficient number to all the places where their presence would be necessary, which could be remedied only by a speedy augmentation of the *Maréchaussée*, and by the organization of the National Guards. The Assembly did not on this occasion declare themselves either *justly enraged*, or *deeply afflicted*. It judged that these disorders could only be the consequence of their Decrees not being executed, and of the ignorance of the people of the real meaning of them. The Deputy *Merlin* went still farther, he saw in the Minister's statement an intention to shackle and retard the progress of the Constitution. "The agents of the Executive Power," said he, "must be
H 2 " taught

“ taught their duty. We are not to act for
“ them. The Decrees are extremely clear ;
“ let the letter upon which we are deli-
“ berating be sent back to the Minister who
“ wrote it, and let the Executive Power give
“ orders to the different Courts and Ma-
“ gistrates to execute the Decrees of the
“ National Assembly.” The Abbé *Maury*
in vain represented that no kind of assistance
could at that time be expected from Courts
entirely composed of lawyers aspiring to
places in the new judicial arrangements ; that
the fear of displeasing the people, by whom
they were to be elected, rendered it impossible
to obtain any kind of justice ; that, besides,
the duty of these Courts was confined to the
commanding of obedience to the Decrees,
but that to prevent men in arms from vio-
lating them it was necessary to have a supe-
rior force at command ; and that they should
hasten to organize the public strength which
no longer existed, because, without it, it was
absolutely impossible to enforce the Decrees.
He might also have added, that since the disuse
of the Parliaments *, the inferior Courts had
lost

* There only remained the *Chambres des Vacations*,
whose final dissolution was fixed for the 30th of Septem-
ber

lost that respect, and that salutary influence, which they formerly enjoyed when their authority was inspected, guided, and protected by those ancient supreme Courts, whose merited possession of regard and confidence always insured them the power and the submission necessary for the maintenance of public order. All these considerations made much less impression upon the Assembly than the impertinencies of *Merlin*, whose opinion they adopted; and ordered in consequence that *M. de St. Priest's* letter should be referred to the Executive Power, in order to enforce the Decrees sanctioned by the King.

These frequent denunciations of imaginary plots, as well as of real insurrections, not only in France but in all her colonies, did not prevent the Assembly from employing most of the Sittings in the month of September in the discussion of the plan of the Committee of Finances for the liquidation of the National Debt by an emission of two thousand millions of Assignats.

ber in all the Parliaments of the kingdom, except that of Paris, whose *Chambre des Vacations* was prorogued to the 15th of October following.—(Decree of the 6th of September 1790.)

Mr. Necker had already forcibly represented the disastrous and inevitable consequences of so mad a measure, and principally the total disappearance of specie, the ruinous manœuvres of stock-jobbers, and the exorbitant price of provisions and other necessary articles of life. The best-informed and most prudent Members of the Assembly were all of his opinion; but the plan of the Committee being supported by *Mirabeau*, the *Coté-Gauche*, the Jacobins, and consequently by the populace, could not fail of success. The Decree was going to be put to the vote, when *M. d'Esprémenil*, who had endeavoured in vain to speak on the preceding days, ascended the tribune, and addressed the Assembly. "Being aware," said he, "that
" the debate is closed, I shall read my plan
" for a Decree without making any obser-
" vations upon it, and I entreat you to listen
" to it without interruption."

" The Plan of a Decree for retrieving the
" finances, paying off the National Debt,
" and re-establishing tranquillity.

" The National Assembly, always ani-
" mated with zeal for the public good, and
" warned by experience that peace is not
" to

“ to be obtained whilst suspicions, well or
 “ ill-founded, keep a part of the citizens
 “ from their country, decree as follows :

“ The *Caisse d'Escompte* shall resume its
 “ original operations. The 400 millions of
 “ Assignats decreed shall be employed as at
 “ first proposed, and 600 millions more
 “ created without interest, reckoning from
 “ the 15th of October: those already created
 “ shall cease to bear interest. On the 15th
 “ of January next the *Caisse d'Escompte*
 “ shall pay in ready money, and keep their
 “ office open ; and all the funds lodged in
 “ the said *Caisse* shall be composed of the
 “ sums hereinafter mentioned.

“ The Nation accepts, through the me-
 “ dium of the Assembly, the sum of 400
 “ millions offered in the name of the Clergy.
 “ The religious communities shall furnish
 “ an extraordinary aid to the State out of
 “ their revenues during six years, the amount
 “ of which shall be agreed upon between
 “ them and the King.

“ All the property that belonged to the
 “ Clergy, as well secular as regular, shall
 “ be restored to them. The secular Clergy
 “ shall remain authorised to open all
 “ loans necessary to make up the promised

“ fums, according to the regulations which
“ fhall be fixed by the King’s Letters-Patent.
“ The religious communities may alfo open
“ loans according to the fame forms.

“ All Officers, civil and military, fupe-
“ rior and inferior, fhall furnifh a fupply to
“ the Finance. The Officers and Agents
“ (*Employés*) of Finance, fhall furnifh a
“ fupply out of their faldaries. All foci-
“ eties, communities, and corporations fhall
“ alfo furnifh a fupply to the Finance.

“ Juftice fhall take its former courfe, and
“ the titles of the Officers fhall be provi-
“ fionally transferable.

“ Excepting perfonal fervices, the citi-
“ zens fhall be re-eftablifhed in all their
“ property.

“ The patriotic contribution fhall not be
“ compulfory.

“ All the old duties, except thofe of the
“ Gabelle and of feudal tenure, fhall be ga-
“ thered as formerly: the Courts fhall at-
“ tend to the execution of this Decree.

“ A fufficient quantity of the funds arifing
“ from thefe different aids fhall be lodged at
“ the *Caiſſe d’Eſcompte*, to make good its
“ payments; the detail of its operations are
“ not to be put in execution till after they

“ are concerted between the Minister and
“ the Directors of the *Caisse d'Escompte*.

“ All pecuniary privileges shall remain
“ abolished.

“ All the annuities at 4 per cent. shall suf-
“ fer the deduction of a tenth.

“ The debt in arrear shall be divided into
“ two classes, the first shall be paid the year
“ following by twelve equal payments, the
“ second shall be funded at five per cent.

“ A Sinking Fund shall be established,
“ composed of the sums arising by the ex-
“ tinction of the annuities.

“ If these taxes prove insufficient, they
“ may be augmented so many pence in the
“ pound of existing taxes as may be found
“ necessary.

“ The Decree which ordered the alienation
“ of the Royal Demesnes shall be considered
“ as if it had never taken place.

“ The Provost-Marshal's jurisdiction shall
“ be re-established.

“ The Maréchaussée shall be augmented a
“ third.

“ The Princes of the Blood shall be en-
“ treated to return into the kingdom; the
“ other absent citizens shall be invited to do
“ the

“ the same, and shall be put under the pro-
“ tection of the law.

“ The Committees of Inquiry of the Na-
“ tional Assembly, of the town, and all those
“ which may be established in the kingdom,
“ shall be abolished.

“ The National Assembly, desiring that
“ even the remembrance of the troubles,
“ which, during a twelvemonth, have deso-
“ lated the kingdom, should be effaced,
“ shall implore the King to grant a general
“ amnesty.

“ The present Decree shall be carried to
“ the foot of the Throne by the National
“ Assembly in a body.

“ The King shall be entreated to give an
“ immediate sanction thereto, by assuring
“ him that there is not a Frenchman who is
“ not ready to make all the sacrifices it
“ mentions.

“ The Assembly, when they leave the
“ King, shall go and pay their respects to
“ the Queen. In all the parish churches the
“ TE DEUM shall be sung as a thanksgiving
“ for the restoration of harmony; the King
“ shall be entreated to repair on this occasion
“ with his august family to the cathedral of
“ Paris,

“ Paris, where the National Assembly shall
“ attend in a body, and hope to see the
“ Princes, and all the French who now ab-
“ sent themselves.”

M. d'Esprémenil was frequently interrupted as he read, sometimes by hootings, and at others by bursts of laughter, in which there was more rage than mirth. He had no sooner finished, than the *Coté-Gauche* bellowed forth the most violent clamours, which were powerfully supported by the howlings of the galleries. *Send him to the Committee of Health*, cried some: *Send him to the Committee of Alienation*, replied others. To these cries succeeded motions of a much more serious nature. “ I
“ move,” said *Charles de Lameth*, “ that
“ *M. d'Esprémenil* be sent for a fortnight
“ to Charenton.” *Alexander de Lameth*, less severe, moved the order of the day, and that the reason should be entered on the journals in the following manner: “ The Na-
“ tional Assembly, to prove the entire li-
“ berty of opinion, having heard the plan
“ of a Decree by *M. d'Esprémenil* read to
“ an end, and looking upon it as the work
“ of a distempered imagination, passed to
“ the order of the day.” After a long tumult,

mult, in which many personal reflections were intermingled, this resolution was adopted; and the debate opened upon the plan of the Committee of Finances, and upon the fourteen other plans of Decree which had been proposed in the discussion. The debates upon the priority of the motions, upon the amendments, and upon the manner of stating the question, were endless, and produced many violent scenes, which it would be as tedious as useless to relate. The priority was at length allowed to the motion of the Deputy *Camus*, which was to this effect: 1st, That it should be decreed that the unfunded debt of the State, and that of the Clergy, should be paid with Assignats without interest; 2dly, that there never should be more in circulation than twelve hundred millions of Assignats, including the 400 millions already decreed; 3dly, that the Assignats which should be returned to the *Extraordinary Chest* should be burnt, and that no new fabrication of them should take place without a Decree of the Legislative Body, and always upon condition that they should not exceed the value of the national property, or more than twelve hundred millions be ever in circulation.

This

This Decree was passed, and on the votes being taken there appeared 508 against 423.

The following day the Deputy *Chabroud* opened his report on the proceedings instituted at the Chatelet concerning the outrages of the 6th of October. It occupied two whole Sitzings. I shall certainly not undertake to detail this work of darkness, this monstrous tissue of imposition and calumny vainly put together, to give the air of simple misfortunes to the most execrable crimes, and cause the authors of them to be acquitted by accusing their victims. I shall only say, that the whole art of this report, or rather of this defence, consists in mutilating, extenuating, or turning into ridicule most of the depositions; in laying great stress upon the most insignificant; and in overcoming the most positive by the shameless assertion, that what a witness swears positively he has seen and heard he may have thought he saw and heard, but that he was deceived. It was by such manifest prevarications that the advocate *Chabroud* succeeded in saving the Duke of *Orleans* and his accomplices from the disgrace of a judicial condemnation, but not from the shame of having richly deserved it; for the publication of the proceedings of
the

the Chatelet left no doubt respecting the part that had been taken by the Duke in the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October. “Why,” said *Mirabeau* to the President *de Frondeville* in the Sitting of the 19th of April, “were they so simple as to force me
“to make a common cause with that dirty
“scoundrel! Had they not made it impos-
“sible for me to attack him, no one had it
“so much in his power to confound him as
“I: you should have seen how I would
“have used him.”

While *Chabroud* was reading his report, many Deputies, whose depositions he altered, called to him that they were falsely entered; but their voices were drowned by the hooting of the *Coté-Gauche* and the galleries.

Of all the atrocious calumnies in which the reporter indulged himself, the most shocking, as well as the most ill-judged, were those which he dared to level against the brave *Gardes-du-Corps*. They were refuted with equal firmness and dignity by *M. de Bonnai*, who, as soon as the report was finished, delivered the following speech:

“Gentlemen, Calumny, in its attack upon
“virtue, can obtain only flight success,
“only

“ only fleeting triumphs. In vain did the
“ villains, who have so much interest in de-
“ ceiving and misleading the people, who
“ have so much interest above all in opening
“ to themselves an easy road into the sacred
“ asylum of our kings, undertake to defame
“ the *Gardes-du-Corps*: the public voice
“ soon vindicated them.—In those pretended
“ orgies, made the wretched pretext for so
“ many crimes, no man of sense saw any
“ thing more than a friendly entertainment
“ usual among military corps, and the in-
“ tention of which was innocent and pure.
“ For the first time in this tribune, and in a
“ report which I own appeared to me to
“ be A MODEL OF PLEADING FOR ALL
“ GREAT CRIMINALS, it has been asserted,
“ that in the horrid days of the 5th and 6th
“ of October the *Gardes-du-Corps* were the
“ aggressors. Nay more, a wonder has been
“ made, and merit taken, that only two
“ heads had been cut off. An attempt has
“ been made to throw the blame upon the
“ pretended violences of those brave men,
“ whom I may truly call stoics, and who
“ suffered themselves to be massacred with-
“ out resistance; to throw upon them, I say,
“ the blame of these atrocities, which in the
“ morning

“ morning of the 6th of October stained
“ the palace of our kings, and left an inde-
“ libile blot on our history. Vain efforts!
“ Useless wickedness! You were all, Gen-
“ tlemen, witnesses of the facts; all of
“ you have read the papers relative to the
“ proceedings, the only legal and judicial
“ depositions. The truth is very clear.
“ France and all Europe know that the
“ *Gardes-du-Corps*, always faithful to ho-
“ nour, always faithful to the Nation, to the
“ law, and to the King—the *Gardes-du-*
“ *Corps*, who have so often fought for their
“ country, and who have perhaps some-
“ times saved it, never were so great as
“ when, through excess of attachment and
“ obedience to their King, they suffered their
“ courage to be chained. Sublime heroism!
“ unexampled, unparalleled! No, Gentle-
“ men, never were they more worthy of
“ homage and respect than on that day when,
“ agitated with rage and despair, they suffer-
“ ed themselves to be massacred upon the
“ steps of the throne which the King had
“ forbidden them to defend. They fell in-
“ nocent victims under the assassins’ steel,
“ and yet there are tongues that dare to pro-
“ fane their ashes. But, Gentlemen, in sa-
“ crificing

“ sacrificing themselves they saved the Queen,
“ perhaps the King; and this cheering
“ thought prevented their feeling the pangs
“ of death.

“ For my part, Gentlemen, as an Officer
“ of that honourable corps, in belonging to
“ which I have always gloried, and which
“ was never dearer to me than since its mis-
“ fortunes; of that corps whose constant and
“ only guides are honour and loyalty, I should
“ fear to be disowned by its members were I
“ to condescend to justify them, were I to con-
“ descend to refute calumnies so gross, and of
“ which the venom is discharged too far be-
“ low them to reach them. In answer to the
“ story of a *Mr. Le Cointre*, in answer to the
“ illegal declaration of that man, too well
“ known to have any credit attached to his
“ testimony; in answer to the allegations of
“ the reporter, who has not scrupled to rely on
“ such a testimony, I shall only oppose 400
“ years of courage, of victories, and of vir-
“ tues: and in spite of their base detractors,
“ the King’s *Gardes-du-Corps*, my brave
“ fellow-soldiers, will always be what they
“ have always been, like *Bayard*, daunt-
“ less and blameless.”

Mirabeau, exasperated at finding himself

alluded to by the words *great criminals*, which *M. de Bonnai* had made use of in the beginning of his speech, demanded a thorough and speedy investigation of the business. “I also demand,” added he, “that
“I may be permitted to invite *M. de Bonnai*
“*nai* to support the charge against the *great*
“*criminals*, and I protest I will not assume
“any plea from the friendly entertainment
“which he has been defending.”

“I have no intention,” replied *M. de Bonnai*, “to ascend the tribune to discuss
“the merits of the proceedings; I acknowledge all my inability in that respect, but
“it is my duty to defend a corps of which
“I am an officer; and as to the expression
“of *a model of pleading for great criminals*, which I do not retract, I declare
“that I only meant to mark the degree of
“censure which the report of *M. Chabroud*
“appeared to me, and still appears to me, to
“merit.”

The inferences of the report were, that it should be declared that there was no cause of accusation against the Duke of *Orleans*, or against *Mirabeau*. The discussion was adjourned till the next day, the 2d of October. The Members of the Assembly, who had
1 been

been called upon to give evidence, and whom the reporter had rendered culpable by altering their depositions, demanded to be heard, but they were denied, and they were all confined at the bottom of the Hall, except such as had declared that they knew nothing. The Abbé *Maury* argued with his usual eloquence, and clearly demonstrated the reality and the object of the conspiracy, which had produced the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October. It appeared to him prudent, and perhaps bold to acknowledge, that the proceedings did not furnish proofs sufficiently conclusive against *Mirabeau* to ground a Decree against him. But in regard to the Duke of *Orleans*, he insisted that the number and importance of the depositions in which he was charged, and of which he said he held an extract in his hands, left no doubt of the necessity of his being tried; that a judicial impeachment, founded upon a criminal process, could not be effaced but by a legal judgment; and that to deprive the Duke of *Orleans* of the only means which he had to justify himself, was rather injuring than serving him; and in consequence he was of opinion that it should be declared that there were grounds for impeaching him.

Mirabeau then spoke, and pleaded his own cause with the most arrogant confidence. According to him the Chatelet and the witnesses were the only persons guilty in this affair. He said, speaking of the proceedings, that *even the calendar of crimes offered but few examples of a villainy at once so shameless and so ill-conducted*: and he swore to pursue the authors of it *to the grave*. This blustering, as ridiculous as it was indecent, obtained the most lively applause. To overturn the depositions which accused him of having, at five in the afternoon of the 5th of October, ran through the ranks of the regiments of Flanders sword in hand, he referred to the deposition of a witness examined in the proceedings *, who had said, that the *man seen in the ranks of the regiment of Flanders was M. de Gamaches, and that his person very much resembled Mirabeau's*. He also adduced the testimony of *M. de la Marck*, a Member of the Assembly, at whose house, and with whom he had passed the whole afternoon. “Thus,” said he, “all things being
“duly weighed and examined, the proceed-

* *Girin de la Motte*, 48th witness.

“ ings have in reality nothing unpleasant
“ upon this head, but as they attack *M. de*
“ *Gamaches*, who finds himself judicially
“ and vehemently suspected of being very
“ ugly from his resemblance to me.” This
expression, and that which I mentioned be-
fore, suffice to give a just idea of the style
of *Mirabeau's* defence.

With respect to the sentiments which he
had been accused of expressing, he did not
deny them; but he commented upon them,
and explained them in his own way, that is
to say, in the sense of the Revolution. He
insisted, that far from proving that he was
initiated in any secret plans, or in any con-
spiracy, they only showed that he had judg-
ed better than they believed he could con-
cerning the tendency of opinion, the nature
of things, the rapidity of circumstances, &c.
He concluded his defence with a most vehe-
ment attack upon the Chatelet, and upon
those *infernal proceedings*, the secret of
which he pretended he had unfolded, *such*
as it would soon be engraven in his-
tory by the most just and most implacable
vengeance. This was the concluding sen-
tence of his speech, and it was followed by
more lively and reiterated applauses than ever

the Hall had rung with before. The same honour was bestowed on some expressions which the Duke *de Biron* was mean enough to utter in favour of the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he termed the first disciple of Liberty in France, and whose services, moderation, and purity he extolled.

The triumph of guilt was already so evidently secured, that it was almost as useless to speak against the accused as to defend them; and no one desiring to speak, the tribune was vacant, and a profound silence reigned for several minutes in the Assembly, when at last *M. de Montlausier* rose. The Members of the *Coté-Gauche* and the Galleries guessed what he was about to say; and although *Mirabeau* had demanded a thorough investigation, their murmurs, their hooting, and their calling repeatedly for the question, announced the intention of closing the debate immediately. “These clamours are
“infamous,” cried *M. de Montlausier*.
“You have not yet examined a single
“charge; you have heard but two or three
“explanatory speeches, and can you deter-
“mine proceedings so complicated! It is
“of great moment to investigate and to de-
“cide upon this report, this memorial, these
“pleadings;

“ pleadings ; if we decide not upon them,
“ France and posterity will. It is not print-
“ ed, it has not been distributed among us ;
“ I demand three days to consider this work
“ of three months.”—He was here inter-
rupted by a cry for the question.—“ Those
“ who call for the question are very bad and
“ very perfidious advisers—I believe no one
“ to be so much an enemy to the accused as
“ to hurry us into an act so contrary to the
“ dignity of this Assembly. I have pre-
“ pared myself with observations, which I
“ mean to offer in the course of the debate ;
“ I have examined all the papers, as was my
“ duty” He was again interrupted by
fresh murmurs, the violence of which, added
to his own indignation, prevented his pro-
ceeding.

Roederer then spoke, and impudently as-
serted that nothing remained to be done, pre-
vious to the decision, but to hear the par-
ticulars proposed to be stated on the part of
the Duke of *Orleans*, of whose innocence
there was no longer a doubt : and he called
upon the Duke *de Biron* to say whether the
Duke of *Orleans* wished to speak, or thought
it more worthy of him to wait till after the
determination of the Assembly.

The Duke *de Biron* immediately replied, that the Duke of *Orleans*, conscious of his innocence, and fully relying on the justice of the Assembly, would say nothing at that time.

The Members of the *Coté-Droit* requested in vain that the decision should be postponed till after the distribution of the report. "These proceedings," cried *Barnave*, "were condemned from the moment they came to our hands. Every body has seen that in order to make criminals it was necessary to have a conspiracy, and nobody has discovered in all this business any other conspiracy than the proceedings themselves: I move that the most profound contempt for these proceedings, for those who instituted them, and for those who, in the course of them, have been hardy enough to give their conjectures, and their malicious and perfidious insinuations as evidence, be the sole result of your deliberation on the subject."

The Abbé *Maury* declared in the name of the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, that they could not, and would not, take any part in the determination; and many of them retired. The Decree proposed by the reporter was immediately put to the vote, and adopted
by

by a very great majority amidst the applauses of the Galleries, excited by those of the Assembly. *M. de Sillery* then announced that the Duke of *Orleans* desired to be heard next day ; and he did in fact appear in the tribune in the Sitting of the 3d of October. “ *M. de Biron*,” said he, “ engaged yesterday in my name, and I come this day to ratify the engagement, not to leave you in the least doubt, but to throw a light even upon the slightest circumstances of this dark affair You have declared that there was no grounds of accusation against me, it remains for me to prove that there was not even grounds for suspicion ; it remains for me to clear away those deceitful appearances, those doubtful presumptions, spread with so much calumny, and so readily admitted by malevolence . . . and this I now pledge myself to do. I owe it to myself ; I owe it to this Assembly, of which I have the honour to be a Member ; I owe it to the Nation at large.” But he never discharged this debt so solemnly contracted, and the monster filled up the measure of his crimes by the most execrable of all !

The scandalous indulgence of the Assembly on this occasion astonished none, but confirmed

firmed the opinion already spread, that many of the Members in the majority had the greatest interest in securing impunity to the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October, and in quashing the proceedings of the Chatelet. Had the trials taken place, as they should have done, they might have discovered some new accomplices of the Duke of *Orleans* amongst those of his colleagues, who appeared the more eager to acquit him, as they were at once the judges and the parties.

I shall conclude the account of these proceedings with a sublime instance of the Queen's magnanimity, worthy of her great character in those days of horror, when she was surrounded with poniards, and stood firm amidst those outrages, the authors of which the Chatelet were to discover and to prosecute. The Committee of Inquiry for the town having sent a deputation to her Majesty to obtain such information as she might be pleased to give concerning the outrages of the 6th of October, the Queen answered that she had nothing to say: "Never," added she, "will I turn informer against the King's subjects." The Chatelet sent a deputation to her Majesty for the same purpose, and to these her answer was: "I

" SAW

“ SAW ALL, I KNEW ALL, I HAVE FOR-
“ GOTTEN ALL.” Yet this noble Princess,
born to do honour to the first Throne in the
world, and to be the idol of nations, in
France found assassins ! . . . executioners ! . . .
And those monsters are suffered still to live !

CHAPTER XXXI.

Memorable Decree of the Parliament of Toulouse announced to the Assembly by the Keeper of the Seals—Opinion of Robespierre upon the Inutility of its being made known to the Assembly—Decree ordering those Magistrates to be arrested, and prosecuted on an Information for Rebellion—The Ministers losing Credit by their Weakness, are all attacked and denounced in a Report made in the Name of several Committees—Opinion of M. de Cazalés—A Motion in favour of M. de Montmorin adopted—The Decree proposed against the Ministers rejected by a small Majority—They are again attacked by a Petition from the Commune and Sections—

tions—M. de la Tour du Pin and the Keeper of the Seals give in their Resignations—Warm Debates on the Subject of changing the National Flag—Speech made by Mirabeau—M. de Guilhermy insults him, and is confined—The Jacobin Club put an End to the Insurrection of the Sailors at Brest—Pretended Counter-Revolutionary Orgies held by the Garrison of Belfort severely punished.

IN proportion as the Assembly were indulgent to the most atrocious crimes, when they could be connected by any means with the Revolution, and there were few which might not be taken in that sense, they were severe against every act of virtue and courage which tended to maintain the ancient constitutional principles of the Monarchy, respect for religion, for property, and, in short, for whatever was not revolutionary. The King, who could not but be extremely affected by these proofs of zeal and attachment, had not only to lament the want of power to reward them, but the being reduced to suffer his Ministers to denounce in his name his most faithful

ful servants, and expose them to the censures of the Assembly.

What part could be more painful, more heart-rending to the chief of the Magistracy, than that of accusing Magistrates, whose heroic conduct he could not but be sensible would obtain the praise and the admiration of every Frenchman whom the revolutionary mania had not blinded? Amongst those worthy magistrates I shall instance the Chamber of Vacations of the Parliament of Toulouse: that Parliament, alas! in which I had the honour to commence my career in the magistracy, and of which we have seen almost all the members dragged from Toulouse to Paris as guilty of treason against the Nation, and perishing on a scaffold. In paying these illustrious martyrs of true patriotism, of honour, and of loyalty, the tribute of regret and tears which are their due, it is a great gratification to me that to secure them the esteem of posterity, it is only necessary to relate their conduct, and the honourable act which was the cause of their accusation.

The Assembly had prorogued the Chambers of Vacations of all the Parliaments of the kingdom,

kingdom, only from the fear that these Courts, when they met, after the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, should have thought proper to take cognifance of them, and unite their efforts and all their remaining power and authority to stop or undermine the Revolution. The Chambers of Vacation, by obeying the *exprefs command*, which the King had been compelled to fend them, had provisionally registered the letters of prorogation. That of Touloufe, feeing that the annihilation of all the fupreme courts would be the confequence of it, determined not to merit, by the moderation and filence which the perilous fituation of the King had hitherto compelled them to obferve, the reproach of having favoured an enterprife fo difaftrous; and in confequence adopted on the 25th of September this memorable refolution.

“ The Court fitting in Vacation, con-
 “ fidering that the French Monarchy ap-
 “ proaches the moment of its diffolution,
 “ that foon no traces will remain of it, and
 “ that the ancient Courts of Juftice are not
 “ even refpected;

“ Confidering that the Deputies of the
 “ States-General had been fent only to put
 “ an

“ an end to the ruinous state of the Fi-
“ nances ;

“ Considering that those Deputies could
“ not change the constitution of the State
“ without violating their instructions, and
“ the faith sworn to their constituents ;

“ Considering that in order to destroy the
“ Magistracy, it would have been necessary
“ that instructions should have been express-
“ ly given them for the purpose ; that on
“ the contrary many of the instructions ex-
“ pressly demand the preservation of the
“ Parliament of Languedoc ;

“ Considering that the Clergy have been
“ deprived of their estates, which seemed
“ secured to them for ever by a long posses-
“ sion ; that the Nobility have been despoil-
“ ed of their rights and titles against the
“ constitutional principles of a true mo-
“ narchy ; that Religion is degraded and
“ drawn towards its ruin ; and that the new
“ judicial order can only aggravate the bur-
“ den of taxes on the people ;

“ The Court, inviolably attached to the
“ sacred person of the King, to the Princes
“ of his august blood, and to the ancient
“ laws, protest for the interest of the said
“ lord

“ lord the King against the overturning of
“ the Monarchy, the annihilation of the
“ orders, the invasion of property, and the
“ suppression of the Court of Languedoc;
“ and the said edicts and declarations being
“ only entered by them provisionally upon
“ the registers, and upon condition of being
“ entered anew when the Court met, a
“ clause, now useless, they declare the said
“ entries null.”

Two days after, upon the presentation of the Decree which suppressed all the Chambers of Vacations, they adopted a second resolution couched in these terms :

“ The 27th of September, the King’s At-
“ torney-General being present, and the let-
“ ters patent of suppression being laid upon
“ the table, the Court considering its pre-
“ ceding resolution, and the impossibility of
“ destroying themselves, declare they cannot
“ proceed to register the said letters.”

On the 5th of October the Keeper of the Seals sent copies of these two resolutions to the Assembly, with the following note :

“ The King commands me to inform the
“ National Assembly of the manner in which
“ the Chambers of Vacation of the Par-
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“liaments of, &c. have received the Decrees
“for suppressing all the ancient supreme ju-
“dicial jurisdictions. The Chamber of Va-
“cations of the Parliament of Toulouse on
“the 25th of September adopted a resolu-
“tion, on which the King thought it neces-
“sary to consult with the Assembly before
“he took any step. I send a copy of the
“resolution.”

Robespierre, the most headstrong, the most fanatic of all the Revolutionists, ascended the tribune immediately after the reading of these papers, and severely censured the Minister for communicating them to the Assembly.

“This resolution,” said he, “is an act
“of delirium which should only excite con-
“tempt . . . *Why is this Minister so hasty*
“*to bring it before the Assembly?* They
“may declare to the Members of the Par-
“liament of Toulouse that they are permit-
“ted to remain bad citizens. This Court
“is forming a coalition with the Executive
“Power.”

The murmurs excited by this last expression compelled the speaker to leave the tribune. No person rose to speak after him,

and

and the Assembly, without any farther discussion, referred the note of the Keeper of the Seals, and the papers annexed to it, to the united Committees of Constitution and Reports.

M. de Broglie yes, *M. de Broglie* undertook this affair, and on the 8th of October made the report in the Evening Sitting, and bestowed every odious epithet upon the resolutions of the Chamber of Vacations of Toulouse, and upon the Magistrates who composed it. According to him, those Magistrates had been wilfully guilty of a high misdemeanour and rebellion. Their crime was flagrant. A criminal prosecution should follow. Their prevarication, the enormity of their crime, the immensity of their offence, were clearly proved by their daring to send that sacrilegious resolution to the King; a resolution, which was at once a master-piece of error and perfidy, and an alarm-bell of rebellion, rung by those too whose august and beneficent functions should only lead to peace and tranquillity. He terminated this frantic report with the following plan for a Decree:

“ The National Assembly, after having
“ heard the Committees of Constitution and

“ Reports, decree that the Members of the
“ late Chamber of Vacations of the Parlia-
“ ment of Toulouse, who passed the resolu-
“ tions of the 25th and 27th of September
“ last, and the Attorney-General of that
“ Court, shall be brought before the tri-
“ bunal, which shall forthwith be formed
“ for the trial of treasons against the Nation,
“ to be there proceeded against for rebellion
“ and high misdemeanours, as they shall see
“ cause. The Assembly moreover decree,
“ that on account of the nature of the crime,
“ the King shall be requested to give orders
“ without delay for securing their persons,
“ as well as all other necessary orders to
“ carry the present Decree into execution.”

The opinion of the Committees was strongly supported by *Alexander de Lameth*. One member alone of the *Coté-Droit* (*Madiet*) hazarded an observation in favour of the accused full of good sense and justice. “What were the Parliaments?” said he, “The depositaries of the ancient Constitu-
“ tion. They had received it from the
“ King’s hand; they had sworn to maintain
“ it. This oath they renewed every year . . .
“ Were a new Legislature to overthrow what
“ you

“ you have done, and were the judges established by you to protest against the change, would it be just to try them as criminals? Consider this comparison, it is perfectly exact.”

This observation excited almost as much murmur and laughter as applause, and the plan for the Decree proposed by the Committees was adopted without any other opposition.

What could the Assembly have done if these Magistrates, instead of feeble remonstrances dictated by their oaths, had passed one of those Decrees of resistance, the severest punishment of which, under the pretended reign of despotism, never exceeded a temporary exile? What accusation of a higher nature than that of rebellion and high treason could they have brought against them, if, instead of confining themselves to a simple refusal of registering, which could neither hinder nor retard the execution of the Decree which suppressed them, they had opened the eyes of the people to the buffoonery, the infidelity, and the crimes of their representatives? If, concerting with all the Chambers of Vacations in the kingdom, they had solemnly declared as null and derogatory to

the rights of the Nation all the Decrees contrary to the instructions which the Deputies to the States-General had received from their respective bailiwicks? In a word, if uniting with the nobility, with men of property, with the numerous friends of religion and the King, they had erected the standard of insurrection, the most sacred without doubt, the only lawful one, but nevertheless the most criminal in the eyes of the Committee of Reports? What expressions could *M. Broglio* have found to bestow on acts like these, after having expressly said, *that the resolution of the 25th of September was beyond all expression?* And this was repeated by the Revolutionary Tribunal when they condemned in a mass all the Members of the Parliament of Toulouse to death: a sentence, which was but the execution of the Decree of the 8th of October passed against the opinion of *Robespierre*, who was much more moderate, and upon a denunciation made in the King's name!

When obstacles which could only be removed by the Assembly impeded the action of the Executive Power, it was to the Assembly, no doubt, that the Ministers were to denounce them: but could the responsibility
to

to which they were bound impose upon them the duty of denouncing also without necessity weak or insignificant actions, by which some victims of the Revolution manifested not an efficacious opposition to the Decrees which stripped them of their situation, but merely their repugnance to agree to their being put in execution? The Decrees of the Chamber of Vacations of the Parliament of Toulouse certainly could not prevent, nor did it prevent, the Decree for their suppression being carried into complete execution. The Council had therefore been perfectly regular, even in the eyes of the most flaming patriots, if they had contented themselves with pronouncing the resolutions void, to which the Magistrates who had adopted them could not have given any opposition.

This excessive dread of responsibility accelerated the annihilation of the Royal authority, and discredited the Ministers to such a degree in the public opinion, and with all parties, that their retreat from office soon became inevitable. They were at first attacked in a body in a report made in the name of the Diplomatic, Colonial, Military, and Naval Committees, concerning the continuation of the troubles, and want of subordination in the

squadron at Brest. The reporter (*M. de Menou*) imputed to their want of energy the obstacles experienced in the re-establishment of order, and the regeneration of the State. “Whatever,” said he, “be the cause of that
“want of energy, whether the mistrust which
“they have excited in the people throw difficulties before them, or that they only
“know the Constitution by name, and have
“not comprehended or adopted its principles, the public force is weakened and lost
“in their hands . . . They pay great attention to local disorders, they come daily to
“amuse us with them, and daily tell us of
“the distrust which attends their conduct,
“and which deprives the Executive Power of
“the energy and strength which it ought to
“have.”

The plan for the Decree with which this report was concluded was reduced to the following points :

1st, To desire the King to name and send to Brest two new Civil Commissioners possessing the necessary powers, and authorised to employ every means proper for effecting the re-establishment of order and subordination ; and to authorise the Commandant to exclude from the squadron and discharge
all

all those who should not be found fit for sea-service.

2dly, To censure the conduct of the Municipality of Brest, and to order their *Procureur Syndic* (Attorney-General) to the Bar.

3dly, To charge the President to wait upon the King, and represent to him that the distrust which the people had conceived against the present Ministers was the occasion of the weakness of the government, and that it threw the greatest obstacles in the way of the re-establishment of public order, the execution of the laws, and the finishing of the Constitution.

This last article, evidently derogatory to the right reserved to the King of freely choosing and keeping in his Council such persons as he should think worthy of his confidence, was warmly debated, and finally rejected, but in a style the most galling and humiliating to the Ministers, even by those Members of the Assembly most devoted to the King, and particularly by *M. de Cazalès*. “It is not,” said he, “to defend
“ the Ministers that I appear in this tribune.
“ I know nothing of their disposition, nor do
“ I approve of their conduct. They have
“ long

“ long been guilty ; long since could I have
“ accused them of having betrayed the Royal
“ authority ; for it is also treason against the
“ Nation to betray the authority which alone
“ can defend the people from the despotism
“ of a National Assembly, just as the Na-
“ tional Assembly can alone defend the people
“ from the despotism of kings. I could
“ have accused your fugitive Minister of
“ Finances, who, basely attending to what
“ concerned his safety, sacrificed to his
“ own ambition the good he might have
“ done I could have accused him
“ of having incited the Revolution without
“ preparing the means of insuring the suc-
“ cess, or obviating the danger of it . . . I
“ could have accused him of having con-
“ stantly dissembled his conduct and his
“ principles. I could have accused the Mi-
“ nisters of the Home Department of per-
“ mitting the King’s orders to be disobeyed.
“ I could have accused them all of an asto-
“ nishing supineness. I could have accused
“ them of their perfidious counsels. All can
“ excuse the exuberances that shoot from the
“ love of our country ; but who could ex-
“ cuse those frigid souls which patriotism
“ cannot

“ cannot warm, those men who, looking to
“ themselves instead of the State, conscious
“ of their inability and cowardice, and hav-
“ ing undertaken the public business, leave
“ the helm of the State to the Factious, take
“ no command, yet obstinately keep their
“ places, and dread returning to that obscu-
“ rity which they ought never to have left.
“ During the long convulsions which agi-
“ tated England, *Strafford* perished on a
“ scaffold, but Europe admired his virtue,
“ and his name is idolized by his country-
“ men. Such is the example that faithful
“ Ministers should follow. If they have
“ not courage to perish, or sustain the tot-
“ tering monarchy, they should fly and hide
“ themselves. *Strafford* died—What then?
“ Is not this man also dead? This Minister
“ who basely abandoned France to calamities
“ created by himself. Is not his name ef-
“ faced from the list of the living? Does
“ he not feel the pang of outliving himself,
“ and of leaving to history only the record
“ of his ignominy? As to the servile com-
“ panions of his labour, and of his shame,
“ the present objects of your deliberation,
“ may we not apply to them the verse of
“ *Tasso*,

“ *Tasso; They still walked, but they were*
“ *dead.*”

From the extreme harshness of these reproaches, it was suspected that *M. de Cazalès* appeared so severe in order to render himself less suspected of partiality for the Ministers in resisting the Decree proposed against them in the name of the four Committees. In fact, it was highly probable that this motive had engaged him to express with more energy a sentiment but too well justified by the dangers into which the conduct or supineness of some of the Ministers had drawn the Monarchy and the King. *M. de Cazalès* would surely not have included *M. de St. Priest* in this description, if he had not feared, by excepting him, to incense the Factious still further against that Minister, whose zeal, firmness, and attachment to the King were generally known. These debates so mortifying, so insulting to the Council, entirely occupied the Assembly during two Sitzings. At the moment the plan proposed by the Committee was going to be put to the vote, a Breton Deputy (*Chapelier*) observed that none of the complaints against the Ministers could affect the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who in his department

partment had given no cause of reproach; that consequently he ought not to be included in the motion, nor in the decision. The Assembly adopted this amendment by a very great majority, and declared *that M. de Montmorin had never lost the public confidence from the first moment they had placed it in him.* The votes were then called over upon the article relative to the Ministers, and it was rejected by a majority of 63, there being 403 votes against 340.

The numerous party who wished for the dismissal of the Ministers nevertheless continued to attack them daily with the most scandalous insolence. The very next day *M. de Menou* resuming the discussion of his report, said, in speaking of the proposal of the Committees relative to the Ministers, "That it had been rejected the evening before only because unhappily their influence, like a poisonous blast which withers all it meets, had infected even the old founders of Liberty." And this sentence, for which the speaker should have been called to order, as was proposed by the members of the *Coté-Droit*, was loudly applauded three several times.

The Commune and the 48 Sections of
Paris

Paris thought proper also to deliberate upon the proposal of the Committees, notwithstanding the rejection of the Decree, and voted unanimously the immediate dismissal of the Ministers. This vote was carried to the Assembly by a deputation of the Commune headed by *M. Bailly*, and of which the famous *Danton* was speaker. He pointed out in his harangue different heads of accusation equally false and absurd against the Keeper of the Seals, against *M. de St. Priest*, and *M. la Tour-du-Pin*. He did not mention *M. de la Luzerne*, as that Minister had already resigned his office in the department of the Navy, and had been succeeded on the 23d of October by *M. de Fleurieu*. The letter sent by *M. de la Luzerne* to the King on that occasion was inserted in all the public papers, as was also that written two days before to his Majesty by all the Ministers *.

Some Members of the *Coté-Droit* several times interrupted the speaker of this deputation either by direct contradictions, or by calling for proofs which exposed the imposture or the absurdity of his assertions. The President, in his answer to this speech,

* See Appendix, No. x.

magnified emphatically the right of petition *natural to every free association, and sanctioned by the Decrees of the Assembly, whilst despotism stifled the voice of the people by punishments.* “The Commune of Paris,” added he, “have brought forward complaints which no doubt they can establish by proofs. The supreme chief of the nation will not repulse them; a king owes his people relief, succour, and justice. The Assembly will on their part, after examining the proofs of the petition you have presented, take it into consideration: they grant you the honours of the Sitting.” This honourable reception, given to petitioners who ought to have been severely reprimanded for having dared to renew a demand which the Assembly had already by a Decree solemnly rejected, proves sufficiently that the Commune of Paris was also a power which the Representatives of the Nation felt themselves under the necessity of respecting.

M. de la Tour-du-Pin gave in his resignation on the 9th of November, and was succeeded by *M. du Portail*. The Keeper of the Seals deferred his resignation for some days longer. He even wrote a letter to the
1 Assembly,

Assembly, requesting a communication of all the charges which had been made against him, offering to answer them without delay. But the Assembly not having passed any Decree upon this letter, or even deigned to send it to the Committee of Reports, although a motion had been made to that effect, he determined a few days afterwards to quit an office which was now attended only with disgust. The office of Keeper of the Seals of France, which from time immemorial till the Revolution had been filled by the first magistrates of the kingdom, which was considerably degraded while held by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* by the annihilation of all the ancient magistracy *, now fell extinguished into the hands of *M. Duport du Tertre*,

* The Chamber of Vacations of Paris, which the Assembly had permitted to exist fifteen days longer than the others, terminated its Sittings on the 14th of October. The following day at noon the Municipal Officers went to the *Palais de Justice*, where they only found the tavern-keepers, and were employed till ten at night in putting seals upon the registers and boxes of that Court. As to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, notwithstanding the exactness and zeal with which he had always executed the Decrees, the letter which he addressed to the Assembly (the 21st of November), to inform them that he had surrendered the Seals into the King's hands, in consequence of

Tertre, an advocate of little note, formerly a clerk at forty pounds a year, and at that time Lieutenant to the Mayor in the department of the Police, and living in the third story of a small house in the *Rue de la Sourdiere*. He was a laborious, active, and honest man, notwithstanding his zeal for the success of the Revolution, to which it was very natural that he should be attached, as it had raised him from nothing; but he sincerely detested the crimes and horrors of it. He and *M. du Portail*, Minister of War, were indebted to *M. de la Fayette* for their appointment in the Ministry. *M. Duport du Tertre* did not succeed to the office of Keeper of the Seals, which was created in 1774, and to which the survivorship of the office of Chancellor of France was attached. He was only called *Keeper of the State Seal*, without any other duty than that of presenting the Decrees of the Assembly for the King's sanction, attending to the execution of the Decrees relative to the new organization of

of an order received from his Majesty, was more strongly and more generally applauded than any of the acts of his ministry; so true it is, that a man always finishes by having no party when once he abandons that which he ought to have supported.

the Departments of Justice, and to preside in the Privy Council till it was superseded by the new *Tribunal de Cassation**, whose formation was already decreed: and respecting which it was decided not only that the Keeper of the Seals should not preside, but even that he could not be a member of it.

It was upon the occasion of the commotions at Brest, and on the report of *M. Menou*, that the grand attack, of which I have just given an account, was made upon the Ministers. The conclusion of that report, or rather the articles of the plan for a Decree proposed by the four Committees, relative to changing the white flag for a tri-coloured one, produced the most violent debates. Some members of the *Coté-Droit* opposed this article with great moderation, and contented themselves with observing, “ that it
“ was the white flag which had given li-
“ berty to America; that every good citizen
“ could not but be alarmed at the change of
“ a colour which tended to obliterate the re-
“ membrance of our victories and our vir-
“ tues; that besides, it was the more im-

* A Court invested with the power of revising and annulling the sentences of all other tribunals.

“ portant to preserve the ancient flag for the
“ Monarchy, as that of the English and
“ Dutch being also of three colours, France
“ could not take it without exposing her
“ fleets to very serious mistakes; and that
“ the flag of no nation was the same as that
“ of their cockade,” &c. &c.

No person replied to these objections, and the article would probably have been rejected if *M. de Foucault* had not attacked it in a more serious and satirical manner. “ Who,” says he, “ are the military men that have
“ proposed to you thus to profane the ho-
“ nour and the glory of the French flag?
“ Here we have the true cause of the dis-
“ orders of the squadron. Let us no longer
“ be accused of frivolity, of that love for
“ fashion; leave to children this new tri-
“ coloured plaything. It is dangerous to
“ take so useless a step; but as it is not sup-
“ ported it is unnecessary to argue. I move
“ the previous question.”

There wanted no more to irritate *Mira-
beau*, whose talents, when he was animated,
were unparalleled in misleading his auditors
by presenting the most indifferent questions
in the most alarming and monstrous points of
view. “ At the outset of this strange de-

“bate,” cried he, “I felt, I own, as the
“greater part of this Assembly, the pulsa-
“tions of the fever of patriotism to the
“most violent excess.—What kind of pre-
“sumption is it that has dared to raise
“the question which agitates us, and which
“we are not even permitted to decide. All
“the world knows what a terrible crisis was
“produced by atrocious insults offered to the
“chosen colours of the Nation.—All the
“world knows what mutual congratulations
“took place throughout the whole nation
“when the Monarch ordered the troops to
“wear, and wore himself, those glorious
“colours, the token of union to all the
“friends, to all the children of Liberty, to
“all the defenders of the Constitution.—*All
“the world knows that but a few months
“back, nay but a few weeks, the rash
“man who should have dared to shew any
“disdain for those ensigns of patriotism,
“would have lost his head for his daring.*

“I know not what successful art in yef-
“terday’s Sitting has puffed up counter-
“revolutionary spirits. In four-and-twenty
“hours ; in one night, all ideas are so much
“subverted, all principles are become so
“monstrous, so much is the public spirit

“ misconceived, that there are men who
“ dare to tell you, and in the face of the
“ people who hear us, that there are ancient
“ prejudices which you ought to respect,
“ as if your glory and theirs did not consist
“ in having annihilated those prejudices for
“ which they contend! that it is unwor-
“ thy of the National Assembly to attend to
“ such trifles; as if the language of signs
“ were not every where the most power-
“ ful impellants of men, the chief spring
“ of patriots and conspirators in their
“ federations, or their plots! In a word,
“ they dare coolly speak to you in a lan-
“ guage which, interpreted, precisely says,
“ *We think ourselves strong enough to dis-*
“ *play the white colour, that is to say, the*
“ *colour of the counter-revolution instead*
“ *of the odious colours of Liberty.*—Cer-
“ tainly they have presumed too far. Take
“ my advice (added he, addressing himself
“ to the *Coté-Droit*) and sleep not in so
“ perilous a security, *for the awaking will*
“ *be prompt and terrible.*”

This incendiary speech, of which I have only reported the leading features, was often interrupted by lively applauses, as well as by the most violent murmurs mixed with some in-

vectives. The words *villain* and *assassin* having escaped from one of the most worthy Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* (*M. de Guilhermy*), immediately raised a dreadful storm against him. He ascended the tribune in spite of the cries from the Galleries, and the members of the *Coté-Gauche*, who called him to the Bar, and calmly waited to be accused. *M. de Menou* did not hesitate to be his accuser, and declared upon *his faith and honour* that he had heard *M. de Guilhermy* call *Mirabeau* villain and assassin. “I move,” added he, “for the honour of the Assembly, that they authorise their President to cause *M. de Guilhermy* to be arrested immediately.” *M. de Guilhermy* did not deny the words, but he explained and justified them by repeating the expressions of *Mirabeau’s* speech which had excited his indignation, and had provoked him to say that that speech which might cause a part of the Members to be assassinated was the speech of a villain, or an assassin. “I am willing to believe,” said he as he concluded, “that *M. Mirabeau* had no such meaning in his mind. Let him retract his speech, I retract mine.”

Mirabeau, satisfied with this explanation,
moved

moved at first that the Assembly should pass to the order of the day. But his anger was rekindled when he heard his own speech censured with as much energy as justice by one of the defenders of *M. de Guilhermy*.

“ I should be very sorry,” said he, “ on this
“ occasion to become the accuser, but I cannot
“ however consent to be accused. My
“ language was not only not incendiary, but
“ I maintain that it was my duty on so
“ criminal an attempt to support the honour
“ of the national colours, and prevent
“ the infamy which there is no room to
“ doubt was hoped from our weakness.”

He then repeated the mildest of the expressions that had offended. “ I repeat it;” added he, “ I esteem it an honour to repeat
“ it, and woe to him amongst those that,
“ like me, have sworn to die for the Constitution,
“ who finds himself under the necessity of charging me with it as a crime!
“ He has revealed the execrable secret of his
“ false heart. As to the expression of the
“ person who has subjected himself to the
“ sentence of the Assembly, the insult was
“ too vile to affect me. I moved that we
“ should pass to the order of the day, instead
“ of troubling ourselves with his rav-

ings ; and perhaps if he had preserved
any degree of temper, I should myself have
become his advocate. I cannot then be
suspected of a desire of revenge : but on
reflection I am sensible that it is not
proper that a Representative of the Na-
tion should suffer himself to be carried
away by the first emotions of a false
generosity ; therefore I not only with-
draw my motion of passing to the order
of the day, but I ask for a sentence on
M. de Guilhermy or myself. If he is
innocent I am guilty : decide."

M. de Guilhermy was condemned to be
kept under arrest for three days ; and the As-
sembly adopted the plan for a Decree proposed
by *M. Menou* relative to the changing of the
national flag, and to the sending of new civil
Commissioners, authorised by the King, to
employ every means, and to take all measures
necessary to the re-establishment of order in
the squadron, and in the town of Brest. It
happened that precisely on the same day the
friends of the Constitution of Brest, who had
encouraged and supported the meeting of the
sailors, fearing that the commotion of which
they were loudly accused might be the means
of suppressing their club, sent deputies on
board

board all the ships charged to invite the crews to submit to the laws, and obey their officers, &c. These deputies immediately obtained a success which would have been vainly expected from the authority of the Assembly, and still less from that of the King. They completely re-established subordination in the squadron by the mere promise of soliciting a reform of such articles in the penal code as displeased the sailors. These signified their return to order and their joy by cries of *Long live the Nation, the Law, and the King*. The society of the friends of the Constitution, better known by the name of *the Jacobin Club*, drew up a minute, in which they stated their zeal, their efforts, and their success in re-establishing order on this occasion, and sent a copy of it to the Assembly. Several members of the *Coté-Droit* inveighed forcibly against the indecency and the danger of permitting a minute, drawn up by any individuals whatsoever whom the law did not authorise to employ that form, to be read in the Assembly. But these remonstrances were ineffectual: the minute of the club was read, and loudly applauded; it was ordered to be printed, and the Assembly authorised the Committee of the Navy to present

sent them the following day with “ the plan
“ of a Decree for the alteration of the ar-
“ ticles of the penal code which had occa-
“ sioned the remonstrances of the squadron.”
They decreed at the same time “ that the
“ King should be requested to suspend the
“ execution of the Decree respecting the ad-
“ dition of two civil Commissioners to those
“ at present at Brest, and that the President
“ should write to the Society of the Friends
“ of the Constitution at Brest, to the King’s
“ Commissioners, and to the corporations
“ who had contributed to the establishment
“ of order, to express to them the satisfac-
“ tion of the Assembly.”

On the day that the Assembly decreed the tri-coloured flag, and that the sailors at Brest, after having been six weeks in a state of the most serious mutiny, made the harbour re-echo with the cries of *Long live the Nation, the Law, and the King*, some officers of the garrison of Bèfort, whom the fumes of a regimental feast had rendered forgetful of the Constitution and patriotism, ran through the streets waving a white handkerchief on the point of a sword, exclaiming *Long live the King, the Devil take the Nation*. They went to the barracks, and soon im-
parted

parted their delirium to their men, who had also been treating their fellow-soldiers. They spread themselves through the town, compelled the inhabitants to repeat their acclamations, and ill-treated those who refused, or did it unwillingly; but no person was wounded. The officers who had kept themselves sober wishing to quell the disorder, repaired to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where the Municipal Officers had already assembled; but they were answered by insults, and the doors of the *Hotel-de-Ville* were forced open. However, the Major of the Fort, who arrived at that instant, was suffered to speak, and being obeyed by the leaders of this jovial band, calm ensued. Unfortunately among those leaders were *M. de la Tour*, Colonel of the regiment of Royal Liegeois, and the Major of the same regiment.

M. de Bouillé being informed of what had passed at BÉFORT, arrived there the day following, and put the Colonel, the Major, and two Officers of the regiment of Royal Liegeois, and also an Officer of the Lauzun Hussars under an arrest for a month, ordered the regiment of Royal Liegeois to march out of the town immediately, and promised that the Lauzun Hussars should also march out

out soon. He informed the Court of the steps he had taken; and when the Minister laid the account of the affair before the King, his Majesty ordered that all the officers whom *M. de Bouillé* had put under arrest should be imprisoned, the Colonel for two months, and the others for six weeks.

There was, perhaps, never so severe a military punishment inflicted upon officers for faults of this nature committed in a state of intoxication; but the times required this severity, and *M. de la Tour-du-Pin*, who was still Minister of War, did not doubt but that the Assembly, who four days before had shown themselves so indulgent to the sailors at Brest, would think the officers of the garrison of Belfort at least sufficiently punished by the orders which he communicated to them. There was, however, an essential distinction between the two affairs. The mutiny at Brest, criminal as it was, did not only appear excusable, but meritorious in the eyes of the Factious. To disavow the authority of the King, to despise the orders of his Ministers, to insult and outrage the officers, were so many acts in unison with the spirit and even the plan of the Revolution. There was, it is true, mingled with it a little disobedience

disobedience to some articles of the new penal code; but that crime, or rather that error, was rather too slight not to be effaced by the repentance of the sailors. That of the Officers of the regiment of Royal Liegeois, although committed in a state of intoxication, was of a very different nature. It was not sufficient to be a patriot in cool blood; it was necessary to be a patriot even in a delirium. To recall the remembrance of the white flag, by waving a white handkerchief on the point of a sword; to cry, the devil take the Nation, and to compel the people to repeat these impious cries, were evidently counter-revolutionary acts, and consequently crimes of treason against the Nation.

Such were in substance the arguments of the speakers of the *Coté-Gauche* upon these two incidents. The reporter of the first (*M. de Champagny*) declared according to the opinion of the Committee of the Navy, "that the events which had taken place in Brest Harbour ought to be considered as proceeding less from a spirit of licentiousness and insubordination than from an uneasiness on the points of delicacy and honour; that the articles which had given rise to that uneasiness were not essential to the penal code; that they

they might be repealed without inconvenience ; and that even justice permitted this compliance with the wish of men returned to their duty, and who were desirous of living and dying for their country." He moved in consequence, that all the articles disapproved by the sailors should be annulled, and it was decreed accordingly.

The reporter of the Military Committee (*Muguet de Nanthou*) considered, on the contrary, the miserable orgies of B fort as a most serious outrage. "You cannot," said he, "extend your indulgence to the leaders ; France expects a severe example ; the Nation are tired of the guilty projects daily manifested by their enemies, and complain that your justice is tardy. Clemency is no longer seasonable ; we must check by chastisement those who are not checked by the fear of desolating their country, and whose only regret is their want of success. There must be an end put to those factions that rend the body politic, and which will at last weaken, if they cannot annihilate it. In short, attempts against the national will must no longer be suffered, and the Decrees accepted or sanctioned by the King must be
"obeyed."

“ obeyed.”—“ It is highly necessary,” added *Mirabeau*, “ to teach those who have dared
 “ to call the national colours *play-things*,
 “ that revolutions are not children’s play.”

The result of these mad declamations was a Decree purporting that the King should be entreated to give orders that the Colonel and Major of the regiment of the Royal Liegeois, as well as the Fort-Major at B  fort, should be arrested, and committed to the prison of the *Abbaye de St. Germain*, as guilty of treason against the Nation; and that they should be arraigned and tried before the judges, who should be appointed to try the crimes of treason against the Nation*. The Chatelet had been deprived of that jurisdiction by a Decree of the 25th of October. Thus it only concerned the supreme National Court, the formation of which had been also decreed.

I have given no account of the different reports that were made to the Assembly in the course of the months of September and October relative to the troubles which agitated St.

* The Colonel and Major of the regiment of Royal Liegeois informed of this Decree by an extraordinary courier, had happily time to escape before *M. de Bouill  * could put it in execution.

Domingo. A circumstantial history of the progress and the disastrous consequences of the Revolution in that colony would lead too far to find a place in these Memoirs, in which I proposed solely to collect the principal events that occurred in France, and for which I can vouch from the commencement of the Revolution till the death of the King; those being the facts respecting which my testimony may be more particularly relied upon.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A Plan of M. de Bouillé's to make the Departments and the Army itself desire that the King should take the Command of the Forces—Another Plan of the Baron de Breteuil's opposed by M. de Bouillé, and adopted by the King—Great Debates in the Assembly on the Questions whether the King should have a Military Household, and whether his Majesty might take the Command of the Armies—Intrigue of the Jacobins against M. de la Fayette—The King's Letter on the Occasion—Quarrel between M. de Chauvigny and M. Charles de Lameth—The latter is slightly wounded in a Duel with the Duke de Castries—The House of the Marshal de

Castries pillaged by the Populace—The Municipality, the Sections, and the National Guard go to the Assembly, the one to request a Law against Duels, the other to demand Vengeance upon the Duke de Castries—These Demands applauded—Consequences—Report upon the Finances—Deputation of the Commune and National Guard; their Object—Denunciation against the Bishop of Nantes—New Oath prescribed for the Clergy.

THE Court quitted St. Cloud on the 30th of October, and returned to Paris. Two days after their arrival it was known that the dispute which had arisen between Spain and England had been finally arranged, by his Catholic Majesty's consenting that the English might form a settlement to the North of Nootka Sound, and that they might trade upon that coast as far as Cape Mendocin. Thus vanished all apprehensions of a foreign war, to the King's great satisfaction, although perhaps to his undoing. All my doubts in that respect relate solely to the want of energy and resolution, of which *Louis XVI.* gave but too many proofs; for I am firmly convinced

vinced that it was only at the head of the army, who would have been brought back to subordination by the King's presence alone, that his Majesty could expect to recover not only his liberty and dignity, but even the portion of power it might have pleased him to preserve. Some well-chosen words of goodness and confidence addressed to the military would have sufficed to revive their former feelings, their enthusiasm, I had almost said their idolatry for their master; they would all have shed the very last drop of their blood in defence of his person and authority.

The Marquis *de Bouillé* was so fully persuaded that it was the only favourable chance remaining for the King, that he then most seriously endeavoured to bring it forward. The idea that occurred to him was to engage the Emperor to march a part of the army intended to reduce Brabant towards the frontier of France. The ostensible object of this hostile movement was to be the restoring the Princes of the Empire, who had possessions in Alsace, to the rights of which they had been deprived by the Assembly. This movement would have authorised *M. de Bouillé*, who, since the affair of Nancy, had entirely

gained the confidence of the troops of the line, of the National Guards, and of all the inhabitants of the frontier Provinces, to have assembled an army composed of the best regiments. He had already communicated to the members, who had the greatest influence in the departments which were under his command, the plan he proposed to pursue in case of hostilities ; and he was certain that as soon as the troops were assembled according to his order, those departments would send an address to the Assembly, requiring that the King should put himself at the head of the army, of which the Constitution had declared him Generalissimo, his presence being absolutely necessary there to repress the spirit of disorder and mutiny which prevailed, and the consequences of which might, at such a critical moment, be fatal. A petition from the army itself should have accompanied this address, which would have been supported in the Assembly, not only by all the members of the *Coté-Droit*, but also by several of the *Coté-Gauche*, and particularly by *Mirabeau*, who at that time was desirous of making his peace with the Court*.

* Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, chap. ix.

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While the Marquis *de Bouillé* was preparing and combining his measures for the execution of this plan, the Baron *de Breteuil* proposed another more dangerous, and which had much less chance of success. But it was unhappily the King's fate always to prefer weak measures, whatever dangers might attend them, to energetic ones even without any danger, and of the latter character certainly were those projected by *M. de Bouillé*. It is evident that the worst that could have happened from them would not have rendered the King's situation more critical.

According to the Baron *de Breteuil*'s plan, the King and the Royal Family were to leave Paris secretly, and repair to one of the frontier towns of the Provinces, over which the Marquis *de Bouillé*'s command extended, and the Marquis was to point out that which he thought the safest. The King, on his arrival in the town, was to summon thither his confidential Ministers, his faithful servants, and the troops that could be relied upon, and he was to use every possible means of recalling those subjects, whom the Factious had misled, to reason and a sense of their duty. The interposition of the

Allied Powers was not to be solicited till after all conciliatory means had been tried without success.

The Bishop of *Pamiers*, who was sent by the Baron *de Breteuil* to propose this plan to the King, arrived at a juncture the most fitted to determine his Majesty to adopt it; it was at the time when the Ministers, daily exposed to the most violent persecutions, were about to be compelled to resign their places to men more disposed to favour the Revolution, and to serve the prevailing Faction. The King fearing, with too much reason, that a Council thus composed would daily augment the difficulties, the disgusts, and even the dangers of his situation, saw in the Baron *de Breteuil's* plan only an innocent means of escaping from his slavery, and did not hesitate to approve it, in the fullest confidence that *M. de Bouillé*, to whom the execution of it was to be confided, would insure its success. And, in fact, was it not natural to hope that a General, who had been attended with glory in every enterprise he had undertaken, however hazardous it was, would not fail in the most interesting of all, and the success of which he had the most at heart.

The Marquis *de Bouillé*, informed of the King's determination by the Bishop of *Pamiers*, whom his Majesty had commissioned to confer with him upon it, immediately foresaw the difficulties and dangers attending an attempt of this kind, and the fatal consequences which would result from it if it did not succeed; for it might endanger not only the Monarchy, but even the life of the King. "I can render his Majesty," said he, "those essential services which he expects from my zeal, without having recourse to such perilous means." He then disclosed the plan which he had formed himself; but the Bishop of *Pamiers* convinced him of the necessity of renouncing it, by informing him that the Emperor, and the other Powers in alliance with the King, had formally declared their unanimous resolution to wait till his Majesty should be out of Paris, and at full liberty, before they undertook to act. The King had fixed on the month of March following for the time of his departure, in order to allow *M. de Bouillé* time to make every necessary preparation, and to concert with his Majesty, who from that moment maintained a secret and regular correspondence with him respecting the journey

to Montmedy, which was the town pointed out by *M. de Bouillé* as that to which the King might proceed with the least risk *.

Unfortunately the Factious were no less aware than *M. de Bouillé* that the only resource which remained for the King to recover his authority was to place himself at the head of the army. In times of peace this would have been the signal for civil war, and they too well knew the character of *Louis XVI.* not to be convinced that he could never determine upon that: but they did not see less danger for themselves in his taking the command of the army, even in case of a foreign war; and the means of depriving him of the power of it soon became an object for the determination of the Assembly.

This important question was debated in the Sitting of the 11th of November upon the denunciation of the pretended alarms caused by the report spread that the King was about to form a new guard. Testimonies of love and regard for the King, as stale as hypocritical, were mixed with this denunciation, and veiled its motives. “A military

* See the Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, chap. ix.

“household,”

“ household,” it was said, “ is an armed
“ household, and an armed household is use-
“ less to a King beloved by all the citizens
“ of the empire. The King of the French
“ is adored by all the French. All would
“ unite to guard him ; any distinction what-
“ ever would be invidious, and the guard of
“ the King of the French is but a guard of
“ honour.” It was demanded in conse-
quence that the Military Committee, and
that of the Constitution together, should be
charged to make a report on the question
whether it would be proper to create a guard
of honour for the King ? and if so, by whom
and in what manner it ought to be formed ?

This motion, made by the Deputy *Biauzat*, was powerfully supported by *Alexander de Beauharnois*, and by *Alexander de Lameth* ; the first of these *Alexanders* looked with dread on an armed force destined to execute the will of a single man ; and, according to his idea, to grant a military household to the King, was to break the necessary *balance between the powers, without any advantage to the public tranquillity, and with certain danger to the National Liberty*. He concluded that it would probably be the opinion of the Committees that the
King

King should have no military household, and he waited to defend the report should it be opposed. "I have another observation to make," added he: "It is necessary that we should decree that under no circumstance whatsoever the King shall command the troops in person." At these words the speaker was interrupted, but not disconcerted by the murmurs and indignation of all the Members of the *Coté-Droit*. It was not to please them he wished, but the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, the patriots of the galleries, and by these he was loudly applauded, when he observed in support of his motion "that peace could only be secured by the responsibility of the agents of the Executive Power; that if a Minister or a General should commence hostilities, their heads might be made to answer for their crime; whereas the King at the head of the army might, if he pleased, plunge the Nation into a disastrous war, and no guilty person be punishable on account of the Monarch's inviolability."

M. Malouet opposed these different propositions with energy. He insisted upon the indecency of debating whether the King should or should not have a military household. He maintained that the business of the

the Assembly was only to determine the number of men of which that household should consist; that the very idea of depriving the King of the right of commanding his armies in person was sufficient to grieve and alarm every good citizen, because, if adopted, it would necessarily lead to the dissolution of the monarchical state, under which the people had chosen to live. “Whither are we to
“be led then,” said he, “with all these
“motions? When will there be an end of
“this Revolution, which incessantly con-
“tradicts its principles? When will this
“threatening fermentation cease, which keeps
“the French Nation in constant convulsions?
“You are continually told of imaginary
“counter-revolutions, but I announce a real
“one; that which at this moment the agi-
“tation of the public mind is preparing,
“which, after having disorganized the State,
“will make retrograde motions; and then
“the people, become furious, will break
“out against their pretended friends, from
“whom they may perhaps demand”

The murmurs and clamours which had often interrupted him were redoubled at this moment with so much violence, that they prevented his concluding this sentence. He

finished

finished by moving, that the Committees should be only charged to make a report concerning the number of men of which the King's guard should consist.

Alexander de Lameth then rose, and delivered a speech, which deserves the more to be known, as it gives a very exact idea of his principles and revolutionary talents.

“ Perhaps,” said he, “ it would be easy
“ to prove, if we chose to discuss that point,
“ that far from degrading royalty, the pro-
“ position of *M. de Beauharnois* tends to
“ preserve its true character ; that the King,
“ supreme chief of all the parts of the
“ Executive Power, should not cease to su-
“ perintend the whole, and become himself
“ the actor in one branch only ; that he
“ should not cease to be the centre of the
“ Constitution, and go to a distance from his
“ people to exercise functions incompatible
“ with the inviolability which you have
“ consecrated ; and that the pretended right
“ now claimed for him is only that of ab-
“ dicating the dignity of King to vest him
“ with the character of a General of the
“ army. But laying this question aside for
“ the present, I think it my duty to call the
“ attention of the Assembly to the system
“ of

“ of some individuals, who wish to repre-
“ sent the friends of Liberty as enemies to
“ Royalty.”—“ Yes, yes,” cried several
Members of the *Coté-Droit*.—“ No, no,”
replied *Alexander de Lameth*, supported
by all the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*;
“ no, the King’s friends are not those who
“ unceasingly claim that title. The King’s
“ friends are those who have destroyed the
“ Parliaments, those who have destroyed
“ the order of the Clergy, those who, by
“ destroying the monuments of the feudal
“ system, have put an end to that eternal ri-
“ valry between the Throne and the Aristo-
“ cracy, and broken the barriers which for
“ so long a time separated the King and the
“ people. Yes, I repeat it, as one of our
“ colleagues observed with no less eloquence
“ than truth, that the natural alliance, the
“ sacred and lasting alliance, is that of the
“ Monarch and of the people, and of that
“ you have laid the foundation; you have
“ cemented it for ever by destroying all the
“ intermediate tyrannies which ignorance
“ and usurpation had placed between them.
“ We are not dupes of the patriotic solici-
“ tude of the last speaker, who pretends to
“ fear that the Nation may become tired of
“ Liberty,

“ Liberty, and, returning into the old track,
“ abandon those who have constantly de-
“ voted themselves to their interests. If we
“ attend to *M. Malouet*, we must take care
“ not to weary the people with alarms. Ac-
“ cording to his idea we should think no more
“ of commotions—of a counter-revolution.
“ Alas ! at what a time does he recommend
“ this dangerous security ? At the moment
“ when the enemies of the country do not
“ blush to march under the standards of a
“ guilty Minister—when *M. de Calonne*
“ flies through the neighbouring countries
“ to unite all the elements of counter-revo-
“ lution. But let *M. Malouet* set his mind
“ at rest ; for we shall not cease to watch, to
“ combat, and, if necessary, to perish for
“ the interests of the people, and the com-
“ pletion of the Revolution.—In respect to
“ the King’s guard, I have to tell you that
“ the Military Committee, informed of the
“ fermentation excited in Paris by the re-
“ ports of an approaching change in the
“ National Guards ; recollecting their con-
“ stant and signal services in the defence of
“ Liberty, and the maintenance of good
“ order in times the most stormy ; recollect-
“ ing the reiterated testimonies of satisfac-
“ tion

“ tion that you have given to their indefati-
“ gable zeal, have charged me to propose to
“ you to refer to your Military and Con-
“ stitutional Committees whatever relates to
“ the formation of the military household.
“ In respect to that part of the National
“ Guard known by the name of the *Paid*
“ *Guards* (*Garde-Soldée*, formerly the
“ *Gardes Françaises*), whom some men
“ have endeavoured to render uneasy about
“ their future lot, let them confidently repose
“ upon the National Assembly, who will
“ not forget their services in the Revolution;
“ and whatever arrangements may be adopted
“ in regard to the King’s military household,
“ this part of the National Guard may rest
“ assured that their interests will not be for-
“ gotten.”

This speech, interrupted at almost every sentence by the applauses of the Galleries, of the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, and by the most tumultuous transports of joy, concluded the debate, and determined the Assembly to refer to the Military and Constitutional Committees the motion made by *Alexander de Beauharnois*, as well as that which concerned the King’s military household. The Members of the *Coté-Droit* took no part in the
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the determination, and one of them (*M. de Foucault*) even required that their not taking a part should be certified; but his motion, though seconded, was not put to the vote.

These alarms which agitated the Nation, and particularly the old French Guards (*Garde Soldée*), were the effect of an intrigue formed against *M. de la Fayette* by his rivals in popularity. The agents of the Club of Jacobins, from which he had for some time absented himself, had spread a report that he was engaged in forming a military household for the King, and that ambitious views had caused him to consent to exclude the *Garde Nationale Soldée* from this new corps, which it was said was to consist of 6000 men, and to be principally composed of such of the *Garde Françaises* as had resolved not to enter into the National Guard. These reports became so serious, as to determine the Council-General of the Commune to demand from *M. de la Fayette* the most explicit account of this subject, in an extraordinary Sitting which he was desired to attend on the 10th of November. He gave proofs the most likely to dissipate all uneasiness relative to his conduct, to his personal views, and to the King's intentions, contained

contained in a letter from his Majesty, which he produced, and of which he had already made use to pacify the *Garde Soldée*. This letter was couched in the following terms :

“ I apprise you, Sir, that when I form the
“ infantry of my military household, my
“ intention is to admit, as you proposed to
“ me, the *Grenadiers Soldés* of the Na-
“ tional Guard of Paris, and a part of the
“ *centre companies*. I shall consult you on
“ this business at the time I expect to carry
“ it into execution, as well as on the ser-
“ vice of the volunteers of the different Na-
“ tional Guards. You know that my in-
“ tention has always been that they should
“ do duty about my person wherever I am.”

The following day this letter, and all the information given by *M. de la Fayette* on the subject, were made public by a long proclamation composed by the Council-General of the Commune ; so that the motion made the same day by the Deputy *Biauzat* in the National Assembly, relative to the King's military household, evidently had no object but that of serving as a preamble or introduction to

the more important motion of *Alexander de Beauharnois*. It is observable too, that they both entered into the plan of attack directed at that period against the Ministers, whose enemies enraged at not succeeding in having their dismissal demanded by a Decree, flattered themselves that they should compel them to resign, by giving them to understand that all these motions, so offensive to the King, were suggested and justified by the distrust they created.

At the time that *Alexander de Lameth* was arrogantly declaring from the tribune that he was *ready to fight, and to perish, if necessary, for the interest of the people, and for the completion of the Revolution*, *Charles de Lameth*, his brother, strictly faithful to the same cause, was postponing till after the Session a challenge given to him in the most pressing terms by *M. Chauvigny de Blot*. The origin of this quarrel took place at the time of the convocation of the Bailiwicks for the nomination of deputies to the States-General. *M. de Lameth* and *M. de Chauvigny* were at the Bailiwick Assembly of Senlis, and *M. de Chauvigny* complained that having been placed in the list of
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the electors of the nobility, he had been declared ineligible by an observation made by *M. de Lameth*, that he had not the qualifications required by the regulation. *M. de Chauvigny* had been travelling ever since the time, and perhaps at his return did not recollect, or did not consider the disagreement at Senlis as an offence, till the person who had given it had by his conduct in the Assembly become the object of reproach to all the nobility of the kingdom. Be that as it may, on the 11th of November *M. de Chauvigny* sent for *Charles de Lameth* to the door of the Assembly, and put him in mind of what had passed between them at Senlis. “It was by you,” added he, “that the regiment of *Mestre-de-Camp*, in which I have the honour to serve, was corrupted, and led to revolt; it was by you, by your perfidious manœuvres, that the Officers faithful to the King were, during several hours, on the point of being massacred. I am one of that number, and I come to demand satisfaction for it.” *Charles de Lameth* in vain attempted to justify himself; his adversary was determined to fight, and desired that he would appoint the time and place. “As you have waited till now to complain

of the circumstance with which you charge me," said *Charles de Lameth*, "you may still wait till the end of the Session; I shall then attend you, but not sooner."—"I will every where proclaim you a coward."—"I have been already tried; you will not be believed."—"Tried or not, your answer is still that of a coward, and I shall make it public."—"But I shall consult my friends, and act according to their advice."—He said that the friends whom he consulted approved of his conduct in every point; but unfortunately he was imprudent enough to say also that this quarrel had been provoked by the Duke *de Castries*, who, not daring to attack him openly, had chosen *M. de Chauvigny* for his champion. The Duke *de Castries*, who was a Member of the Assembly, was immediately informed of this remark; and the next day, at the breaking up of the Sitting, demanded satisfaction for it of *Charles de Lameth*. The insult was too serious and too recent to allow of any delay in giving it. The duel was fought the same day in the *Champ de Mars*, and ended in an instant by a slight wound which *Charles de Lameth* received in his left arm, and which drew from him the most piercing cries.

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This duel, the cause and circumstances of which were reported in a thousand different ways, set the whole capital in an uproar, and became the subject of the deliberations of the Commune of all the Sections, of the Jacobin Club, and of the groups of the *Palais-Royal*. The most ridiculous alarms were spread concerning the consequences that might attend this fatal wound, and the extraordinary pain it had caused gave rise to the most injurious suspicions against the Duke *de Castries*. The populace on all sides vented the most furious imprecations against him, while messages and even deputations from the different Sections were constantly sent to *Charles de Lameth's* house to inquire the state of his health, and to testify to him the lively interest which every good patriot took in the preservation of their beloved defender. The following day the good patriots were not content with sympathising with him, they resolved to avenge him. An immense mob went to the *Hotel de Castries*, and forced the gates, in spite of the representations of the National Guard, who were too weak to resist, even had they been inclined. In less than an hour all the furniture in the house was broken into a thousand

pieces, and thrown out of the windows, except a portrait of the King, which had been given by his Majesty to the Marshal *de Castries*. The mob quietly retired when there was nothing more to break. The actors in this scene of destruction, as they quitted the *Hotel de Castries*, affected to be searched by the guard, that it might be clearly seen, said they, *that it was not for the purpose of pillage they came, but to exercise an act of national vengeance.*

It was generally observed that this outrage was committed with much less impetuosity and disorder than all those that had preceded it; and it was considered rather as the execution of a plan coolly concerted than as the effect of a sudden and unexpected explosion of popular fury. A circumstance, of which no doubt the *Lameths* were entirely ignorant, contributed not a little to confirm this conjecture. A person of the name of *Clermont*, known to be their confidential revolutionary agent, had been seen among the leaders of the mob, and it was not doubted but that he was the principal instigator of it*.

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* This man was formerly a Confectioner, and vender of *liqueurs*. He had attached himself to the *Lameths*,
and

The Assembly were informed of what was passing at the *Hotel de Castries* when it was too late to prevent it. Scarcely was this new insurrection announced, when the brigands, who were on that day assembled in great numbers in the Galleries, made the Hall ring with their ferocious applauses. A Deputy of the Nobility (*M. de Murinais*) declared that the example, or the signal for this clapping, had been given by Members of the Assembly; but this assertion, contradicted by some party clamours of the *Coté-Gauche*, had no further consequences. The President imposed silence on the Galleries, and threatened them to give the strictest orders to keep them silent. The news arrived at this mo-

and under their direction employed a certain number of trusty agents to *enlighten* and direct the public opinion, or rather the popular opinion; for they only frequented coffee-houses, public-houses, and groups in the gardens. At the dissolution of the first Assembly, the *Lameths* recommended this man and his *machinery* to *M. de Lessart*, who employed him under the name of *Giles* with the King's approbation. When *M. de Lessart* was impeached, his Majesty desired that I would continue to employ *Giles* and his agents. He appeared to me very intelligent and devoted to the King, and I made use of him for several months. I did not then know that the name of *Giles* was not his real name, and little suspected that *Giles* and *Clermont* was the same person.

ment that the 40,000 persons, men and women, who had been destroying the *Hotel de Castries*, had retired, and that order was re-established. The Assembly clapped their hands at this intelligence, and broke up the Sitting, without deliberating upon a Decree which the Abbé *Maury* had moved for the prevention of similar outrages.

The same day, at the opening of the Evening Sitting, a deputation from the battalion of the Section of Bonne-Nouvelle were admitted to the Bar. The object of their mission was to solicit a Decree, enacting that for the future no Member of the Assembly shall be challenged to fight in any case, or under any pretext whatsoever, and that whoever should dare to lift a sacrilegious hand against a Member, should be declared guilty of treason against the Nation, and as such delivered over to the vengeance of the laws. But these solicitations were only a secondary consideration with the deputation, their chief object being directed against the Duke *de Castries*, whom the patriots of the Section of Bonne-Nouvelle did not think sufficiently punished. “ This man,” said their speaker, “ at whose
“ name all the friends of the Constitution
“ will henceforth be shocked, has dared to
“ call

“ call *M. Charles de Lameth* out, without
“ respect to *his virtues*, and still less to
“ his character. It is against this presump-
“ tuous man that the battalion of *Bonne-*
“ *Nouvelle*, who are but the organ of all
“ the patriots of France, come to demand
“ vengeance.”

The Members of the *Coté-Gauche* so far forgot themselves as to interrupt the speaker at this sentence by the most shameful applauses. A Deputy, hitherto remarked for his moderation (*M. Roy*), was so shocked at this indecent behaviour, that he could not help saying in a very loud voice, “ *that none but villains could have given these applauses.*” These words excited the most violent murmurs among the *Coté-Gauche*, mixed with cries of “ *To the Abbaye, to the Abbaye.*” These cries were brought forward in the shape of a regular motion by *Barnave*, as soon as the speaker of the battalion had finished his harangue, and the President had answered him. *M. Malouet* and *Mirabeau* presented themselves at once at the tribune, and contended for the priority of speech. *M. Malouet* having obtained it, *Mirabeau* said to him: “ *Let me have your*

your place, I mean to speak to the same purpose as yourself, and shall be more successful." Upon this assurance *M. Malouet* consented to withdraw. The Members of the *Coté-Droit*, deceived by the sudden motion and angry countenance of *Mirabeau*, thought that he had taken possession of the tribune by force, and cried out several times, *Down with the villain; make way for M. Malouet.* *Mirabeau* persisting to keep possession of the tribune, he was again abused, on which he became enraged beyond expression; and instead of thundering against the incendiaries of the *Hotel de Castries*, and against their guilty defenders, he turned all his fury against the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, and pointing at them, cried: *Would you know the real incendiaries, there they are . . . The good people who are calumniated, and so forth.* He continued in this style, supported the motion of *Barnave* with vehemence, and the worthy *M. Roy* was condemned to three days imprisonment.

When *Mirabeau* descended from the tribune, *M. Malouet*, highly offended, reproached him severely for his deceit. "I am ashamed of it," replied he, "but you must

must be angry with those Gentlemen, it was impossible for me to vote with people that would tear me to pieces."

M. Bailly also appeared at the Bar at the head of a deputation of twelve members of the Municipality, and entreated the Assembly to make a law as soon as possible against duels; but neither the Duke *de Castries*, or *Charles de Lameth*, were named or alluded to in this petition, although their duel was evidently the occasion of it. If the issue of this combat had been different, and the Duke *de Castries*, instead of slightly wounding *Charles de Lameth* in the arm, had been himself mortally wounded, it is more than probable that the people would not have troubled themselves about the matter; that the Municipality, the Sections, and the National Guard, far from feeling and representing in so lively a manner the necessity of a law against duels, would not have thought more of it than they had done some months before when *M. de Cazalès*, in his duel with *Barnave*, received a ball in the middle of his forehead.

Nothing, however, was ordained relative to duels, and the first report of consequence which occupied the Assembly was that of the
Committee

Committee of Finances concerning the expences of the year 1791, and the means of providing for them. The Deputy charged with this report (*M. Le Brun*) was unquestionably the most able man in the Assembly to execute that task. He did not conceal the difficulties of it. How, indeed, could certain calculations be fixed upon probabilities and conjectures? How could expences which the troubles, insurrections, and general disorder might every moment augment to an incalculable degree, be estimated even approximately? How was a statement of fixed receipts to be presented when the receiving of the taxes was not surer than the execution of the laws, when the stagnation of commerce and the sudden interruption of luxury daily diminished the produce of the duties to which they were subject; in a word, when that confidence which alone feeds and preserves the public income, was entirely annihilated? Therefore *M. Le Brun* confined himself to delivering in a statement of the public expences which might be regarded as fixed, and which amounted in the whole to the sum of 566,271,646 livres *, exclusive

* See this statement, Appendix, No. xi.

of those attending the administration of justice, the offices of Government, the collecting the taxes, the administration in the departments, and the expences of the roads. The charge of all those objects, yet undecided and variable, were to be left to the departments. The unforeseen and casual expences were also omitted in this statement.

With respect to the receipts, the reporter contented himself with observing that the revenue of the national property might be valued at least at 40 millions, and the amount of the taxes necessary to be imposed should be fixed at 526,272,000 livres. The contribution of the estates of the Clergy, and the contribution from the funds and privileged persons, appeared to him more than sufficient to provide for the expences attending the administration of justice, the expences of the Government, and of collecting the taxes. This report was highly applauded, and the debate upon it adjourned.

In the Evening Sitting of the same day, the Committee appointed for the affair of Avignon and the Diplomatic Committee not having been able to agree upon the petition of the people of Avignon, tending to an union of the Comtat with France, the discussion

cussion was opened on that question, and drew on debates which, after having lasted several Sittings, were terminated by a Decree adjourning the determination, and ordering that the King should be requested to send French troops to Avignon, to protect under his orders the French establishments, and maintain the public peace in concert with the Municipal Officers. It was also decreed that the prisoners from Avignon confined in the prisons of Orange should be set at liberty.

During the discussion of this affair, the Council-General of the Commune of Paris introduced by *M. Bailly*, and a deputation of the battalions of the National Guard, with *M. de la Fayette* at their head, were admitted to the Bar. The first of these deputations came to entreat the Assembly to proceed to the passing of a general law of police, which they had already promised several times, on the repeated solicitations of the Municipality.

“ A necessary law,” said the speaker, “ as
“ our dangers are great, multiplied, and
“ daily augmenting; in fine, a necessary law
“ for the safety of this capital, whose com-
“ motions are felt throughout the empire, the
“ peace and good order of which are con-
“ fided to us. It is the law which must
“ answer

“ answer for those ; we only answer for the
“ execution of the law . . . Paris has proved
“ that it contains a fund of patriotism and
“ virtue, but Paris is also the refuge of all
“ sorts of crimes, which here conceal them-
“ selves in the shade, and are undistinguish-
“ ed in the multitude,” &c. &c.

This law was in fact the more necessary, as, since the abolition of the ancient and admirable Police of Paris, which had been successively perfected by the experience and wisdom of the ablest magistrates, all in this Police had been subject to partial, arbitrary, and often contradictory decisions.

The speaker of the deputation of the Council-General of the Commune called the attention of the Assembly to another object not less urgent. “ It is a month,” said he, “ since the old Courts have been suppressed, “ a still greater length of time will elapse before the new ones are established : mean- “ while the accused have no judges ; the “ prisons are full ; new ones have been pro- “ vided ; the prisoners are crowded together, “ and disease is ready to pronounce sentence “ of death. They are in despair, and are “ continually crying out *to be put to death* “ *or tried*. All these men agitated, tortured

“ by wretchedness, beg daily that an end
“ may be put to it.—They are ready to rise
“ against their gaolers; there is no saying
“ how soon an insurrection may let them
“ loose upon the capital.—We most earnestly
“ entreat the National Assembly to establish
“ a provisional tribunal, or grant a jurisdiction
“ to one of the superior Courts which
“ still exist.—In a word, to appoint judges
“ who may clear the prisons by the justification
“ of innocence, or by examples of
“ justice.”

The object of the deputation of the National Guard was not less remarkable, as may be perceived by the following extracts from *M. de la Fayette's* speech.

“ We have all promised to the country
“ our arms, to the law our submission, to
“ Heaven our Liberty; but these arms, this
“ submission, this liberty stand in need of
“ being directed by you. All our duties remain
“ in a state of confusion, and however
“ purely devoted we are to them, however
“ indefatigable be our zeal, the first requisite
“ for fulfilling a duty is to know it well.
“ The organization of the National Guard
“ only can put an end to this uncertainty.—
“ Permit us to represent to you that it is
“ perhaps

“ perhaps upon that operation depends the
 “ return of order, without which your la-
 “ bour and ours would be fruitless.—We
 “ frankly tell you that we are ignorant of
 “ the nature, degree, and form of pro-
 “ tection to be afforded by the National
 “ Guard to the levying of the contributions;
 “ or how we can ensure the execution of
 “ your Decrees so important, and compel the
 “ citizen who evades to submit to them.—
 “ Hasten then, Gentlemen, to engage our civic
 “ and military honour, to defend our public,
 “ and to sacrifice our private interests.—The
 “ sentiment that permits us to join the pride
 “ of a free soldier to the warlike functions
 “ of an obedient citizen waits only till you
 “ have traced out the laws by which they
 “ are to be ruled, and which we swear to
 “ you we will respect and maintain.”

The Assembly unanimously applauded the
 speeches of *M. Bailly* and *M. de la Fayette*,
 ordered them to be printed, and promised to
 take them into serious consideration. History
 ought also to secure them as authentic mo-
 numents, or rather as convincing vouchers,
 which completely expose the arrogant in-
 ability and the criminal rashness of these le-
 gislators of a day, of that Assembly who

called themselves *constituent* (or constitution-makers), who thought themselves the wisest and most august in the world, and who, in the profound and difficult science of legislation, have displayed no other talent, no other plan than that of abolishing the Constitution, and all the existing laws, in order to substitute for them a code of rebellion and anarchy. The two petitions which I have just mentioned prove on this point three facts of great importance:

1st, That ever since the month of July 1789, the ancient system of the Police of Paris had been annihilated, and that at the end of the month of November in the following year the Assembly had not begun to establish a Police for the capital.

2dly, That from the month of August 1789, the people had been armed throughout the kingdom by virtue of the Decrees of the Assembly, and that at the end of the year 1790 that army of three millions of men was not organized, nor were the use and service of that immense force yet regulated.

3dly, That on the 1st of October 1790, all the Parliaments were suppressed except that of Paris, which was also suppressed on the

the 15th of the same month, and at the end of the month of November the new tribunals which were to be substituted for those Courts were not yet established: the administration of justice, both civil and criminal, was suspended; the prisoners crowded in all the prisons were perishing with disease, and throughout France there was not a single Court of dernier resort*.

Was it not shocking to find the Assembly neglecting such pressing objects, while they

* The only measure which the Assembly thought it their duty to take, upon the report made to them by the petition of the Council-General of the Commune, was to authorise the Municipality provisionally to make use of the prisons at Vincennes, and to remove thither such prisoners as the prisons of Paris could not contain.—(*Decree of the 20th of November.*)—The prisoners of the *Conciergerie* sent a petition to the Assembly in support of that of the Council-General of the Commune, and demanded the enlargement of those among them detained for *further trial*. The Assembly taking their demand into consideration, decreed on the 1st of December that in the mean time, and until the establishment of the tribunals of the department of Paris, the Judges already elected, as well as those to be hereafter elected, assembling to the number of ten, should form a provisional tribunal to try only the criminal causes removed by appeal to the late Parliament of Paris, and in preference the prisoners detained for *further examination*, the term of which was expired.

consumed whole Sittings in trifling debates, in indecent wranglings, and made Decree upon Decree to multiply not only in France, but in the four quarters of the globe, oaths to a new Constitution which was scarcely begun, and which before its completion might undergo corrections and changes without number *.

How much time was lost every day in hearing the absurd and false reports of the Committee of Inquiry, and deputations of all kinds, who were constantly admitted to the honours of the Sitting when they came to make any denunciation against the Ministers, the Nobility, or the Clergy! The usurpation of all the ecclesiastical property did not satisfy the ambition of the Assembly: they wished also to be masters of the spiritual power, in order to organize Religion, like the Monarchy, as they pleased, and to place the Clergy of France in the alternative of martyrdom or apostacy, as they

* All the Ambassadors, Ministers, Envoys, Residents, Consuls, or Agents in Foreign States, and their French secretaries, clerks, and servants, should send to the National Assembly, or to the next Legislature, an act containing their civic oath, &c. &c.—(*Decree of the 17th of November 1790.*)

had placed the Nobility between dishonour and exile. This plan was unfolded and executed with the most perfidious hypocrisy in the last Sitzings of the month of November, upon a report of the Committee of Inquiry, to which a denunciation against the Bishop of *Nantz* served as an introduction.

A deputation from the department of the Lower Loire appeared at the Bar in the Evening Sitting of the 26th of November, and accused the Bishop of *Nantz* of having protested against the authority of the Nation, and of having formally refused to execute the Decrees of the Assembly. "We sent a deputation to him," said the speaker, "who addressed him with all possible respect: and his answer to us was, that he did not acknowledge the authority of the National Assembly in ecclesiastical matters, but that he respected it in all things foreign to religion."

It seems that while the department was deliberating upon this answer, more than 2000 persons had gone to them to demand that the Bishop, who had already left *Nantz*, should be arrested, and conducted under a safe and sure guard to the National Assembly. The deputation of the department, the faithful

organ of that mob, also besought the Assembly to decree that the Bishop of *Nantz* should be immediately arrested and prosecuted, and that the body of electors should be authorised to proceed without delay to the nomination of a new Bishop.

The President made a long answer to the speaker, of which the last sentence contained the whole substance, divested of the revolutionary pathos. “ *The past* conduct of the
“ National Assembly is a security for its fu-
“ ture conduct ; justice dictates their laws,
“ and their firmness shall maintain them.”

The Deputy *Voidel* then spoke in the name of the united Committees of Ecclesiastical Affairs, of Alienation, of Reports, and of Inquiry. He opened with the most pompous eulogiums upon religion and the gospel, the religious and civil maxims, of which he pretended the Assembly had consecrated in the declaration of the rights of man, in the Constitution, and above all, in the Decree for the civil organization of the Clergy. “ I thought it my duty,” said he,
“ to begin with this public and sincere ho-
“ mage to the religion of my fathers a re-
“ port, in which I shall be obliged to inveigh
“ loudly against the crimes of those charged
“ with

“ with teaching it, who scandalize it by
“ their conduct, and who make it appear
“ odious to superficial or corrupt men un-
“ acquainted with it, who only see in it the
“ errors of its ministers.”

This report was in fact nothing more than a gross and violent libel against the Clergy in general, and against its principal members, almost all of whom the speaker reviewed, denouncing their acts of courage, of piety, and of virtue, as so many crimes. He concluded this infamous libel with the following apostrophe.

“ Ministers of religion! cease to shroud
“ yourself with pretences, and acknowledge
“ your weakness; you regret your former opu-
“ lence, you regret your prerogatives, those
“ marks of distinction and pretended pre-
“ eminence, all those vain baubles which
“ degraded the house of the Lord. Re-
“ member that the Revolution has made us
“ men; that we will no longer prostitute
“ our admiration, no longer offer incense to
“ idols of pride. Compel us to respect you
“ by the force of virtue. You have no
“ longer any other means of obtaining that
“ respect. Forget your ancient errors, re-

“ nounce your prejudices, think no more of
“ those estates which you have lost. They
“ are about to be sold; for in spite of your
“ efforts the Nation know that the warranty
“ of a great people is surer than your pre-
“ dictions: they never will forget that the
“ first act of power done in their name by
“ their representatives was to secure the so-
“ lidity of their engagements. You have
“ yet time; disarm by your submission the
“ anger of a people irritated by your resist-
“ ance. The Decree which I am now going
“ to propose may be considered more as an
“ indulgent measure than a severe law.”

This Decree, which was composed of eight articles, “ enjoined the Bishops, Grand
“ Vicars, Superiors, Directors, and Pro-
“ fessors in seminaries and colleges, Parish
“ Priests, Curates, and other Ecclesiastics con-
“ tinuing the public exercise of their func-
“ tions, to take the oath required of them
“ concerning the civil constitution of the
“ Clergy as soon as possible, on pain of for-
“ feiting their offices, which should be filled
“ up as in cases of vacancy by resignation.”
The Decree foresaw cases in which some
Bishops, Parish Priests, &c. without taking
the

the oath, or not attending to it, would continue to exercise their functions, it was therefore ordained “ that the delinquents should be prosecuted in the Courts of the district as rebels to the law, declared to have forfeited the rights of active citizens, to be incapable of holding any public office, and should be punished by privation of their stipends, and other greater penalties, according to the exigence and heinousness of the case.”

The discussion of this important affair occupied two whole Evening Sittings. The opinion of the Committees was powerfully supported by the principal speakers of the *Coté-Gauche*, and with as much hypocrisy as the Deputy *Voidel* had introduced into his report. The Abbé *Maury* and the Abbé *de Montesquiou* defended the rights of the Church with equal eloquence and solidity of reasoning. They demonstrated by irrefragable arguments, answered only by abuse and murmurs, the necessity of the canonical forms to the spiritual power: and as to all the innovations which the Assembly thought of making, they desired them at least to wait an answer from the *Pope*, to whom, it was asserted

asserted the King had written *. The pious Bishop of *Clermont*, who spoke before them, had also defended the interests of religion with that simple apostolic eloquence which characterised the pastors of the primitive church. “We will never rise,” said he, “to defend our subsistence: you owe it us, as all our property is at your disposal. Our conduct shall only display patience and resignation.—It is with interests, as with evils, the greater absorb the less. We do not think ourselves when the question relates to the rights of the Church which you have exposed to danger in your civil Constitution of the Clergy, a Constitution which ought only to regulate objects pure-

* The *Pope* had fully and with the utmost energy manifested his disapprobation of the civil constitution of the Clergy in a Brief addressed to the King on the 10th of July 1790, and in two other Briefs of the same date, the one addressed to the Archbishop of *Vienne*, the other to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who were both Ministers of State at that time. The former of these Prelates answered his Holiness on the 28th of the same month, and the latter on the 8th of August following. This correspondence, however, was kept a profound secret by both, and not the least notice given of it to any of the Deputies of the Clergy.

“ ly

“ ly political.—The Church is the organ of
“ the Son of God. Let it speak, and every
“ one of us will listen to its voice with re-
“ verence. Deign to permit us to assemble
“ a Council—Nothing can prove more for-
“ cibly how much we know the duties and
“ the virtues of our character, than our sub-
“ mitting to every sacrifice rather than act
“ against our conscience.—We resign our-
“ selves to the care of Providence.”

The pure and faithful majority of the Deputies of the Clergy seeing that none of these remonstrances were admitted, resolved to take no part in the Decree about to be passed. This determination was declared by one of the Bishops present, and the others rose to show their concurrence. The Decree proposed by the reporter having obtained the priority of another, still more rigorous, proposed by *Mirabeau*, was put to the vote and adopted.

As a profusion of crimes was necessary to the Revolution, the authors of it could not but be eager to throw off the bridle which religion might put upon them. Religion, in fact, was now the only obstacle remaining for them to remove; for there no longer ex-
isted

isted in France either Police, or Courts of Justice, or Government: and this fatal Decree, considered in the sense of the Revolution, was but a Decree of course.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

New Insurrections—The Mayor of Varezze massacred—Report on the Organization of the Public Force—The Committees, to whom the Report of the Civil Commissioners upon the Troubles of Nancy had been referred, make their Report—Discussion of it—Attempt to criminate M. de Bouillé—Nervous Speech by M. de Cazalès—The Assembly annul the Proceedings commenced in that Affair—Momentary Success obtained by the Royalists in the Parterre at the Opera—Revenge of the Jacobins—Advantage which their Organization in Clubs gave them over the Royalists—Assassination of Pinet, the Broker, on his Return from Rinci, where he had been to receive

ceive from the Duke of Orleans a Portfolio which he had deposited in his Hands, and which was said to contain more than Forty Millions—The Portfolio stolen—Violent Suspicions against the Duke of Orleans.

WHILE the popular outrages remained solely directed against those citizens whom the Revolution had marked out as its victims, by describing them under the fatal denomination of *Aristocrats*, the Assembly thought it enough to declare that they were *justly offended*, or *deeply afflicted* by them, and to charge the Executive Power *to employ all the means placed in his hands by the Constitution for the re-establishment of order*. But as that Constitution, in delegating to the King the supreme Executive Power, had not yet placed at his disposal other means of execution than that of giving to the Constituted Authorities *orders* which his Majesty could not compel them to execute, it was impossible that these references to the Executive Power could produce more effect than the sterile affliction of the Assembly, or its pretended indignation. The consequence was, that insurrections multiplied
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in almost all the departments, not only against the Aristocrats, but also to stop the circulation of grain, and often to hinder the collection of the unsuppressed seigneurial rights, and even the taxes. It appeared too, that the Constituted Authorities newly established were not respected; that the Commandant of the National Guard of St. Jean D'Angely, author of the troubles which had agitated that city, being summoned by the Directory of the Department of Lower Charente, had refused to obey, by the advice of the Mayor. At Varezze, a little town near St. Jean D'Angely, the Commissioners of the district, accompanied by a detachment of the troops of the line, having arrested one of the principal instigators of the insurrection, called *La Planche*, the people rang the alarm-bell, armed themselves with pikes, muskets, and clubs, loudly demanding that *La Planche* should be delivered up to them, and assailed the Commissioners, who, in order to escape their fury, were obliged to command the soldiers to fire upon this mob, and seven persons were killed upon the spot. This act of firmness only enraged these madmen the more. They arrested and confined the Mayor of Varezze, and posted
towards

towards St. Jean D'Angely, calling out, *Vengeance! No Directory! No District!* and threatening they would come the following day with 10,000 men to besiege St. Jean D'Angely, if *La Planche* were not released. The Municipality not having taken any measure to oppose this insurrection, notwithstanding the order which they had received from the district, they were compelled to deliver up *La Planche* to these ruffians, but nevertheless conditionally that the Mayor of Vazeze should be set at liberty, which they engaged to do and retired, carrying back in triumph *La Planche* crowned with laurels. On their return the first thing they did was to set the Mayor at liberty, according to their promise; but it was only to massacre him, in spite of the efforts and generous ardour of a clergyman of the neighbourhood, who threw himself into the midst of the assassins, tore from their hands the venerable magistrate (*M. la Tierce*), and carried him on his back to the nearest house, parrying or receiving himself the blows levelled at him. This heroic action retarded but a few moments the death of the Mayor, who was one of the most worthy men of the Canton. His executioners finished by cutting his throat in
the

the very house in which his deliverers, overcome with blows and fatigue, had placed him.

The recital of all these horrors, of all these *unconstitutional* insurrections, made the Assembly perceive that it was high time for them to attend a little to the organization of the public force. The Committee of the Constitution charged with this task threw all the obscurity on the subject that might be expected from the profound metaphysicians of whom that body consisted, and fell into all the blunders that might naturally be committed by people who did not know even the first principles of it, such as the Abbé Sieyes, Rabaut de St. Etienne, &c. &c.

Before the different plans of Decrees for regulating the organization of the public force were presented, the reporter (*Rabaud*) proposed a series of constitutional articles to serve as their preamble, and to *perpetuate, without alteration, the intention of the Legislature*. “Posterity,” said he, “finding therein the principles in all their purity, will correct the errors which time may introduce.”

The public force was hitherto understood to be that which the Government employed

in the interior, either for the maintenance of order and public tranquillity, or to secure the due execution of the laws, and the sentences of the Courts of Justice. This was that tutelary force which the Assembly had palsied, which it was now necessary to organize, or rather only to renovate.

The Committee, ignorant of this definition, or perhaps thinking it too simple and grovelling, did not hesitate to propose to the Assembly to declare as constitutional principles, 1st, 'That the public force, considered in a general view, was the union of the force of all the citizens ; 2dly, That the army was an habitual force collected from the public force, and particularly designed to act against enemies ; 3dly, That the corps armed for the service of the interior were an habitual force collected from the public force, and particularly designed to act against the disturbers of order and the public peace ; 4thly, That the citizens should be obliged to take arms whenever the disturbance of public order, or an attack upon the country, should require the use of the public force, or when public liberty should be in danger ; 5thly, That the citizens who would not engage to assist in re-establishing order in the interior when they

they should be legally called upon, and to arm for the defence of liberty and their country, should not enjoy the rights of an active citizen ; 6thly, That the armed force was essentially obedient, &c. &c. &c.

This public force was evidently the general force of the State, composed of all citizens capable of bearing arms ; even the brigands were not excepted from it : all were to arm, not only when they should be called upon, but even without it *when the public liberty was threatened*, and every one was individually a judge of that danger, which the preliminary articles did not define, and which they mentioned in such vague terms, that there was no insurrection but might find a constitutional excuse in it.

M. de Montlausier several times, in a very spirited manner, opposed these different articles. He maintained that they tended to organize a body without furnishing it with a soul ; that under the Monarchical Government the King, who was not even mentioned in these articles, was necessarily the *Chief*, the essential and only principle of the life of the public force, &c. &c.

Others observed that the military enrolment, which the Assembly had already

condemned, would be the positive result of the 4th and 5th clauses, and that they would reduce to a vain phantom that liberty so dear, and so eagerly pursued. These objections, and the amendments proposed in consequence, were rejected: the metaphysics of the Committee triumphed over common sense, and the pretended constitutional principles proposed by the reporter were adopted by a great majority. But as I have already observed, this was but the preamble of an immense code required for the organization of all the parts of the public force, such as the Committee had defined it; and *Rabaut* announced that the number of objects he had to present, and the natural order of the Decrees to be passed, would compel him to make frequent intervals in the statement of his report. In fact, he did not resume it till the 22d of December, when he brought forward a Decree, that the *Marechaussée* should in future bear the name of the *Gendarmerie Nationale*, and perform their duty as should be regulated by the Administrations and Directories of the Departments; that it should be composed of old soldiers of eight years standing, and appointed by the Directories of Departments, one out of five to be presented for each vacancy

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cancy by the Colonel. To the King was only left the office of causing the commissions or warrants to be delivered to those who should be thus named to the situations of Brigadiers, Quarter-Masters, Lieutenants, Captains, and Lieutenant-Colonels; and the privilege of appointing the Colonels, formerly called *Prévôts*, observing to grant those commissions according to seniority. His Majesty was also authorised to commission one of the General Officers, employed in the departments, merely to inspect the behaviour, discipline, and service of the divisions of the *Gendarmerie Nationale*; but not to give, or cause to be given to that troop, any orders by the Ministers, or by any other agent of the Executive Power.

This plan of organization of the public force was not more insufficient to prevent insurrections than the disposition manifested by the Assembly upon another important affair, submitted at the same time to their deliberation, was adapted to encourage the disturbers of the public order. The success of the Marquis *de Bouillé* at Nancy was not at all suited to the spirit of the Revolution. The patriots could not pardon him for the terrible lesson which he had given them; and their

clamours, supported by all the clubs and Jacobins of the kingdom, had determined the Assembly to send Civil Commissioners to the spot to make strict inquiry into the causes of that insurrection, which had been the grounds of a criminal prosecution commenced in the *Bailiwick* of Nancy. They were also charged to obtain an exact account of the conduct of the soldiers, officers, and generals, and to draw up a report, which should be transmitted to the Assembly. The Commissioners named by the King were *Duverrier*, and *Cahier de Gerville*, who was afterwards a Minister: they had both been admitted into the new Municipality of Paris, and consequently their patriotism and attachment to the Revolution could not be doubted. The account which they gave of their mission was referred to the Military Committee, and the Committees of Inquiry and of Reports united; and one of the most flaming patriots among the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, the worthy and faithful friend of the Duke of Orleans, in a word, *M. de Sillery*, was charged with the report of this weighty affair, and he made it on the 6th of December in the Evening Sitting. He first announced that the public opinion was still wavering concerning

concerning the causes of the fatal event which had taken place at Nancy. This opening very much astonished all those who recollected the very circumstantial details contained in respect to this matter in the official dispatches which the Minister at War had laid before the Assembly, and particularly those of *M. de Bouillé*, which had been published in all the Journals. “ In these
“ unhappy times of divisions and civil dis-
“ cords,” said the reporter, “ each party
“ charge their opponents with the disasters
“ which happen.—It is in the midst of this
“ political obscurity that your Committees
“ have thought it their duty to endeavour to
“ discover the principal causes of that event;
“ it is this national crime that is to be un-
“ veiled.—Many errors have been commit-
“ ted; great misfortunes have been the con-
“ sequence of them; and there is no class of
“ citizens whom we may not in some de-
“ gree reproach.—Let the two parties who
“ now divide France cast their eyes upon the
“ grand destiny which awaits this empire if
“ they unite, and let them shudder at the
“ fatal consequences of our discords. Blood
“ has already been shed, the Nation is irri-
“ tated; citizens, reflect that at the point at

“ which we are arrived, no power, no
“ means can derange the immutable order
“ which the Nation itself has established;
“ that it would be madness in the party
“ which opposes the general will to hope to
“ reload with chains the brave nation which
“ has just shaken them off, and that at this
“ epocha it is necessary to conquer us or
“ to obey.”

My intention being only to give an exact idea of the spirit with which this report was made, I shall confine myself to an accurate statement of some of its leading points, omitting the patriotic lamentations, and irrelevant common places with which it is loaded, as well as the facts which I have related according to dates.

“ The major part of the inhabitants of
“ Nancy,” said *M. de Sillery*, “ being ne-
“ cessarily losers by the Revolution, highly
“ disapproved of it.—Some distinguished
“ citizens, regarding only the happiness of
“ the Nation, adopted your Decrees with
“ rapture, because they were favourable to
“ that unhappy class of citizens so long in-
“ jured. These joined with them, and the
“ city was thus divided into two parties,
“ holding opinions completely opposite.—
“ It

“ It is to this war of opinions that all the
“ misfortunes of that town ought to be im-
“ puted.—The numerous garrison of Nancy
“ could not remain indifferent. Some young
“ Officers manifested sentiments repugnant
“ to the new Constitution. The elder ones,
“ more prudent and more reserved, concealed
“ their opinions, but all became equally
“ suspected by their soldiers.—In the times
“ of Revolution, every man ought to display
“ his character—Every one ought to speak
“ and act according to his conscience; the
“ most dangerous character is that of the
“ man who exhibits none.”

This accusation, however slight, was the more misplaced, as the reporter confessed that there were complaints only against five Officers of the King's Regiment; that these were charged on the depositions of two persons, named *Bazire* and *Roussiere*, of whom the former had been brought to a trial, and was disowned by all his corps, and the latter had been turned out of his regiment. It was highly necessary to exaggerate the faults of the Officers, and to invent some for them, the more easily to palliate the crimes of the soldiers, and to gloss them with the epithet of simple errors.

“ These

“ These brave foldiers,” continued the reporter, foftening his voice, “ feeing that
“ in the prefent fyftem they began to be re-
“ garded as citizens, attempted to enjoy the
“ fruits of that liberty held forth to them.
“ They had been guilty of fome breaches
“ of difcipline, which, being fuffered to
“ pafs unpunifhed, led them by degrees to
“ open revolt. It is with grief we are forced
“ to confefs that thofe very foldiers, whole
“ patriotifm we fhould have cited as an ex-
“ ample, rendered themfelves culpable by
“ carrying it to excefs. Thefe unfortunate
“ foldiers were not ignorant of the criminal
“ manœuvres of the enemies of the public
“ welfare; they frequently heard the fame
“ language that has fo often excited your
“ own difpleafure; they had fworn to de-
“ fend the Conftitution, they thought it in
“ danger, and falling from one error into
“ another, they precipitated themfelves into
“ the abyfs where they are at prefent. It is
“ an imperious duty incumbent upon us to
“ make them fenfible of the whole extent
“ of their fault.—Let them call to mind
“ the flavery from which we have extricated
“ them. Let them look to the days of glory
“ ftill referved for them, if their conduct
“ answer

“ answer our expectations !—Unfortunate
“ comrades, my duty is to report your
“ crimes ; but I must at the same time lay
“ before the National Assembly the offences
“ of those whose duty it was to be your
“ guides and counsellors.”

This accusation was principally directed against the Administrative Bodies. The reporter severely blamed their pusillanimity, he reproached them for all that they had done, and all that they had left undone, and especially for not having made use of their influence over the troops to recall them to obedience ; as if soldiers, who had shaken off the authority of their Officers, and even that of the National Assembly, could be presumed more ready to attend to the counsels of the Municipal Body.

Among the number of crimes stated by the reporter against the Municipality of Nancy was that “ of suffering the acknowledged
“ friends of the Constitution to be treated
“ as the abettors of the disorders, and of
“ having unlawfully ordered the seizure of
“ their papers, and the dissolution of their
“ Assembly. These good citizens, whose
“ only crime was that of being good citi-
“ zens, found themselves persecuted and
“ tried ;

“ tried; the blows were chiefly levelled at
“ their club, and their enemies even dared
“ to employ against them the antiquated
“ forms of despotism and arbitrary autho-
“ rity. The national cockade was pro-
“ scribed; the National Guard hid them-
“ selves. In a word, Nancy, at the arrival
“ of the King’s Commissioners, was in that
“ degraded state that might be supposed to
“ be its lot at the moment of a counter-re-
“ volution effected.

“ The unhappy event at Nancy was only
“ the fatal result of passions and different
“ opinions incessantly opposed, inflamed, and
“ exasperated by continual misunderstand-
“ ings, by exaggerated suspicions, kept up
“ by the fear of those who could have in-
“ structed the people, and by the renewal
“ of ancient disorders as difficult to foresee
“ as to repress. We have had the sad con-
“ viction that citizens may sometimes err,
“ and become culpable, while they think
“ they are serving the *good cause*.”

It was thus, that instead of throwing a
greater light on the well-known causes of the
insurrection at Nancy, the reporter laboured
to envelop in darkness the criminal manœu-
vres which had produced it; manœuvres
plotted

plotted in the Secret Committee of the Jacobin Club at Paris, and put in execution at the same time by their secret emissaries in the affiliated clubs in all the garrison towns in the kingdom, for the purpose of completing at the same period the disorganization of the whole army, and by that means to deprive the King of the resource of employing such regiments as might remain faithful to quell the insubordination of the others.

The King, to whom I one day spoke on the subject in the presence of *M. de Lessart*, told us, that *M. de la Tour-du-Pin* and *M. de Bouillé* had received the most positive proofs of this fact ; and *M. de Bouillé* has since assured me of it himself. This was the grand mystery, or rather the abominable plot, the traces of which it was the business to conceal ; and *M. de Sillery*, an ardent and faithful Jacobin, perhaps a member too of their secret committee, neglected nothing to attain that end. His report as to the facts was but a servile extract of that of the Commissioners sent to Nancy, which was almost entirely founded upon hearsays, vague suspicions and probabilities, and contained many more conjectures than positive assertions.

“ Your

“ Your Committees think,” said *M. de Sillery* as he concluded, “ that the blood
“ which has already been shed may serve as
“ an atonement for the faults into which
“ the different parties have fallen.”

According to this opinion he moved, that the Assembly, considering that the unfortunate event which happened at Nancy was only the fatal consequence of errors into which the citizens of all classes had been drawn by the difference of their opinions, and being willing to bury in oblivion the very remembrance of so disastrous a circumstance, should decree that the affair should be pursued no farther, and that the proceedings commenced in the *Bailiwick* of Nancy should be dropped; that in consequence the soldiers and citizens sentenced and imprisoned by reason of the said proceedings should be set at liberty; that the King's regiment and that of *Mestre-de-Camp* should be disbanded; that each soldier should receive three months pay, and an absolute discharge; that the Military Committee should report as soon as possible the means of replacing in the service such of the officers, subalterns, and soldiers, as by their conduct and services, might be judged worthy of being replaced;
that

that the King should be entreated to negotiate immediately with the Swiss Cantons for the pardon of the 41 foldiers of the regiment of Chateau-vieux condemned to the galleys, and of the 71 sent to be tried in the Courts of the Helvetic Cantons, &c.

This report, in which not a single eulogium was given to the signal service rendered by *M. de Bouillé*, and in which his name was hardly mentioned, concluded the Sitting, and obtained the greatest applause.

On the day following, in the Evening Sitting, the debate upon this report was opened. The Duke *du Chatelet* spoke first, and testified the liveliest affliction for the faults of the King's regiment, which he had commanded for twenty years, and in which he had always seen the most perfect union between the officers and soldiers. "How," said he, "could the spirit of mutiny be introduced into it? The causes of it must not be sought in particular circumstances at the town of Nancy, nor in the immense detail of facts which have been laid before you. It is found in the very confession of the most guilty of the foldiers; they allow that they were well treated by their officers, but say that they wanted to try a liberty,

“ berty, the just bounds of which they had
“ been made to mistake by perfidious infi-
“ nuations.” He maintained that the con-
duct of the officers was blameless, and con-
cluded with moving that the King should be
entreated to assemble a Court-martial to try
this matter according to the constitutional
forms, appealing to the supreme head of the
army respecting the fate of the three regi-
ments in garrison at Nancy.

The Abbé *Gregoire* severely censured the
last speaker for the eulogiums which he had
lavished on the officers, and for not having
remarked in the conduct of *M. de Bouillé* a
precipitation which had caused the blood of
his fellow-citizens to be shed. The conduct
of the soldiers was as innocent, in the eyes
of this Abbé, as that of the officers appeared
to him reprehensible. “ How could these
“ brave soldiers,” said he, “ but revolt, when
“ their Swiss comrades were made to run
“ the gauntlet, for having asked for their
“ arrears ; when *M. de Malseigne* spoke to
“ the soldiers with the most brutal barba-
“ rity ?—What could they think of it ?—
“ There was talk of a counter-revolution—
“ The pure patriotism of a respectable so-
“ ciety had been denounced—*M. de Bouillé*,
“ who

“ who was known to have been tardy in
“ taking his civic oath, *M. de Bouillé* com-
“ manded !”—The Galleries applauded with
transport the blame thrown on *M. de Bouillé*.
This was repeated with the same success by
Louis de Noailles. “ We should perhaps,”
said he, “ condemn *M. de Bouillé* for suffer-
“ ing the advanced guard of his column to
“ approach too near the post which guarded
“ the entrance into the city.—*M. de Mal-*
“ *seigne* appears to me highly reprehensible
“ for the extreme severity of his speech to
“ the soldiers, and for his departure from
“ Nancy.—I also think that *M. de la*
“ *Fayette* passed the bounds of his autho-
“ rity, when he invited the National Guards
“ of the Departments of the Meurthe and
“ of the Moselle to obey your Decrees.”

This last accusation, and the lively applauses which followed, was a strong proof that the popularity of *M. de la Fayette* was already on the decline. This first General of the Revolution was no longer the hero of the day.

M. de Cazalès spoke next, and with the strongest force of reasoning refuted the opinion of the reporter and his partisans. “ It
“ must appear,” said he, “ from the whole of
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“ the facts laid before you, in the eyes of
“ all men whose reason is not entirely biaſſed
“ by the ſpirit of party, that the ſole crime
“ of the Municipality of Nancy was their
“ being feeble and timid ; that the conduct
“ of the Officers was irreproachable ; that no-
“ thing could excuſe the crimes of the ſol-
“ diers, nor of thoſe horrid men who have
“ excited, perhaps paid for an infurrection,
“ which, but for the heroic firmneſs of *M.*
“ *de Bouillé*”——At theſe words the moſt
violent murmurs and cries from the Galleries
interrupted the ſpeaker, but could not inti-
midate him.—“ An infurrection,” continued
he, in a tone ſtill more elevated, “ which,
“ but for the heroic firmneſs of *M. de*
“ *Bouillé*, would have been the commence-
“ ment of a civil war, and would have co-
“ vered this empire with murder and pil-
“ lage.—The reporter cenſured *M. de Noue*
“ for having called the conduct of the ſol-
“ diers villainy ! And what name, then, do
“ ſoldiers deſerve who have aſſaſſinated their
“ Officers, and plundered the regimental
“ cheſt ?—I own that I was ſcandalized at
“ hearing the reporter endeavour to perſuade
“ us that ſoldiers guilty of ſuch exceſſes,
“ ſoldiers who made the air echo with this
“ baſe

“ base cry, *Money! Money!* were misled
“ by patriotism! If this be patriotism, the
“ very novel application of the word explains
“ to me why in the list of patriots are to be
“ found the names of all the usurers, of all
“ the stock-jobbers of Paris, of all those
“ leeches who, after having so long sucked
“ the blood of the people, now call them-
“ selves their defenders; why, too, we find
“ among them, and in the first rank, men
“ who have sacrificed the advantages which
“ their birth and station gave them in the
“ world, to the charms of sordid gain, and
“ to the precarious profits of a vile employ-
“ ment.

“ It is proposed to you to annul the pro-
“ ceedings commenced by the *Bailiwick* of
“ Nancy, in virtue of a Decree of the As-
“ sembly sanctioned by the King. Strange
“ contradiction!—To refuse to institute a
“ prosecution for a public crime is a denial
“ of justice, but to annul it is an act of des-
“ potism.—All the citizens of Nancy, the
“ innocent soldiers in the guilty regiments,
“ each or all of the individuals implicated by
“ a vague accusation, have a right to say to
“ us: ‘I demand that the Assembly cause jus-
“ tice to be done me, that they grant me a trial.’

“ If any one amongst them should address
“ you in this language, would his honour-
“ able demand be rejected? Could it be re-
“ jected? Then I myself make the demand
“ in the name of the Officers, of the sol-
“ diers, and of the citizens of Nancy.

“ And at what a time is it proposed to
“ you to destroy the traces of these crimes?
“ —At a moment when the anxious Nation
“ waits the opportunity of discovering the
“ true authors of them. This opportunity is
“ found; those only are execrable men who
“ have counselled, fomented, and excited the
“ crimes committed at Nancy. Let the
“ whole nation know and judge of them by
“ the emissaries they employed. The strong-
“ est light should be thrown upon this work
“ of darkness and iniquity. Let me be per-
“ mitted to bring to the recollection of the
“ Bretons who sit in this Assembly, their
“ just indignation when the late King caused
“ the proceedings commenced against the
“ Duke *D'Aiguillon* to be struck out of the
“ registers of the Parliament of Paris.—
“ There was not a good citizen who was
“ not deeply afflicted to see the virtuous *La*
“ *Chalotais* remain under the slur of a false
“ accusation, while the guilty *D'Aiguillon*
“ enjoyed

“ enjoyed his extortions in peace. The act
 “ of authority this day proposed to us is not
 “ less odious.—Let the proceedings then be
 “ finished, and confine yourselves to the sus-
 “ pending of the execution of the judgment.
 “ Then will I ascend this tribune to entreat
 “ the Assembly to carry to the foot of the
 “ Throne, which alone has a right to par-
 “ don”—New murmurs, as tumultuous and
 violent as the former, prevented the speaker
 from finishing the sentence. Nothing indeed
 could be less in the spirit of the Revolution
 than to lay the Assembly at the King’s feet,
 nor less constitutional than to advance that his
 Majesty alone had the right to pardon. *M.*
de Cazalès continued notwithstanding: “ I
 “ will entreat the Assembly to ask the King’s
 “ mercy for almost all the criminals; I say
 “ almost all, for perhaps you will find it
 “ difficult to pardon those who filled the city
 “ of Nancy with adventurers and vaga-
 “ bonds; to pardon wicked men who raised
 “ the citizens against one another; to par-
 “ don the assassins of the hero of Nancy, the
 “ young *Desilles*, whose immortal action
 “ honours both the age and the *Order* to
 “ which he belonged.”

It would be difficult to give a just idea of

the tumult and clamours which arose from the *Coté-Gauche* at the bare mention of the word *Order*, and which continued notwithstanding the observation made by *M. de Cazalès*, that the existence of the Order of Nobility at the time when *M. Desfilles* was born could not be denied. He was first attacked by *Barnave*, not only for that word, but for what he had said concerning the Duke *D'Aiguillon*. He accused him of wishing to rend the heart of one of his colleagues, whose only fault was his differing with him in principles. He reproached him for such malignity, such refinement of cruelty, and concluded with moving, that he should be called to order, and that it should be inserted on the Journals that it was *for rudeness to his colleague, and for want of respect to the Assembly*.

The Duke *D'Aiguillon*, whose filial piety appeared a little tardy, justified himself for not being the first to rise and solicit justice for the abuse and notorious calumnies uttered against the memory of his father. But he had considered, he said, how little influence *M. de Cazalès* and his principles had over the Assembly and the Nation. The Duke *D'Aiguillon* thought the applauses bestowed
on

on this expression sufficient revenge for himself and his father's memory ; and accordingly desired that in regard to what related to himself personally *M. de Cazalès* might not be called to order. *Alexander de Lameth* took a wider view of the faults, or rather crimes of *M. de Cazalès* : he accused him of setting himself up as the chief of a party ; of endeavouring to revive distinctions, which the Assembly had destroyed ; of attributing to an order, to a particular cast, virtues that belonged to all the citizens ; of attempting to raise a doubt whether an opinion friendly to the Revolution reigned in the Assembly ; and above all, of having dared to utter the blasphemy of—*the time will come when the Nation will judge between you and us* ; as if the Nation had not already manifested its wishes. “ I urge all the Members of this
“ Assembly not to consider lightly the deter-
“ mination we are about to take, as it is
“ important to the tranquillity of the king-
“ dom, and the completion of the Revolu-
“ tion, that all the world should know how
“ much you disapprove the opinion of *M.*
“ *de Cazalès*. I move that he be called to
“ order.” This motion was carried by a great majority, and the reason for the call to

order was entered in these terms : "*for want of respect to the constitutional laws of the State.*" It was therefore solely founded upon the expression by which *M. de Cazalès* had asserted that *M. Defilles* was an honour to the order in which he was born.

The Decree proposed by *M. de Sillery* relative to the affair of Nancy was afterwards put to the vote, article by article, and adopted with some amendments. The preamble and the article relative to the soldiers of the regiment of Chateau-vieux were suppressed, and the revocation of the approbation which the Assembly had given to the former Municipality of Nancy, and to the Directory of the Department of La Meurthe, was added.

The circumstantial details into which I have entered concerning this affair appeared to me necessary, to shew the degree of power and audacity which the Jacobin party had acquired since the month of September preceding. They did not content themselves with denouncing as counter-revolutionary, proceedings which would have unveiled all their plots, but caused them to be annulled by the same Assembly who, three months before, had unanimously ordered them ; and made those very members retract the eulogiums they had

had voted by acclamation to the Directory of the department of la Meurthe, and to the Municipality of Nancy. They had unanimously approved the conduct of *M. de Bouillé*, but the speakers of the *Coté-Gauche* now censured it, and were loudly applauded: nor were they less applauded when they cast the strange reproach upon *M. la Fayette*, of having invited the National Guard to obey the Decrees. But perhaps a still stronger proof of the servile and stupid docility of the majority of the Assembly in respect to the ruling Faction, is that which results from this call to order of *M. de Cazalès*, who was declared refractory against the constitutional laws of the State, for having said that the heroism of the young *Desilles* was an honour to the order in which he was born.

So much power in such suspicious hands could not but alarm all honest men, and particularly the Royalists. The young men of this last description, or rather the most inconsiderate of them, finding themselves a majority in the parterre of the Opera two days after the Decree which had terminated the affair of Nancy, giddily seized that opportunity of gaining a very insignificant advantage over the Jacobins, of which they had

had not calculated the consequences. The Opera performed on that day was *Iphigenie en Aulide*. Hardly was the chorus of *Chantons, célébrons notre Reine* finished, when applauses, *bravos*, and *encores* without number, called for a repetition of it. Several voices opposed it; *Encore, encore*, and *No, no*, repeated by each party with equal obstinacy, suspended the performance, when the actor (*Lainez*), who played the part of *Achilles*, imprudently taking upon himself to decide the dispute, said: *Gentlemen, I think that every good Frenchman must love the King and Queen*, and began the chorus amidst clapping, shoutings, and hisses. Scarcely was the chorus over, when a crown of laurel was thrown from the parterre to the actor. This kind of defiance rekindled the fury of the discontented, and soon nothing was to be heard in the Opera-House but the most violent invectives and menaces. At last the voice of the actors, powerfully supported by the sounds of the instruments, gained the ascendant, and the hoarseness of the parties permitted the performance to be finished. On the Sunday following the Opera of *Jephtha* was performed, and as soon as *Lainez* made his appearance,

ance, the most bitter reproaches, accompanied by furious cries, rose against him from all corners of the parterre, where the Jacobins had not failed to attend in great numbers. The actor quitted the stage, after having waited in vain for some minutes for the end of this tumult, of which he was the occasion. Their fury then turned against the women and young men in the boxes. They insulted them in the grossest manner, and some voices even ordered them to get out of the house. *Lainez* again making his appearance, the vociferations and menaces were again levelled against him. He could not calm the storm but by submitting to the humiliation of asking pardon of the public, declaring himself a good citizen, and breaking and treading under foot the fatal crown which he had received two days before. In going out many ladies were insulted: shouts and threats accompanied to their carriages all those who were suspected to have taken any part in the *incivic* scene of the preceding Friday.

Thus the petty success obtained for a moment by some of the Royalists, only ended in reducing an unfortunate singer to make a public and ignominious atonement for the
great

great crime of having dared to believe and to say that every good Frenchman must love the King and Queen.

Although the Jacobins formed but a very small minority of the nation, their organization into clubs throughout the kingdom, which gave them a facility of combining their plans, of concerting their measures, and of preparing under all circumstances force and means adequate to their projects, secured them an immense advantage over the Royalists ; who, though infinitely more numerous, were unconnected, without a rallying point, and always taken unawares. It was as easy to have a majority in the parterre of the Opera as in the galleries of the Hall of the Assembly, in those of the Commune, of the Assemblies of the Sections, &c. It only required to have the will and the power of supplying the expences, and employing for that purpose intelligent and sure agents. The Jacobins had the great advantage of being able to be their own agents ; and an idea may be formed of the extent of their pecuniary means, when the immense fortune of the Duke of Orleans, increased it was said by the portfolio of *Pinet*, the Broker, entirely disappeared

peared in the four first years of the Revolution, although at that time his known expences did not amount to half his revenue.

With respect to the portfolio of *Pinet*, it was said to contain more than forty millions, the greater part of which that stock-jobber had borrowed at an enormous interest, and which he turned to account in a manner unknown, but doubtless to advantage; for he was never in arrear with his creditors. The disorder and troubles which broke out in Paris in the month of July 1789, having alarmed him, he placed his portfolio in the hands of the Duke *de Penthièvre*, who had the goodness to take the charge of it. A short time after, the Duke going into the country returned the portfolio to *Pinet*, who not being yet recovered from his fears, unhappily consented to leave it with the Duke of *Orleans*, on that Prince offering him to lodge it safely at his seat at Rincy. When tranquillity appeared to be re-established in the capital, *Pinet* having occasion for his portfolio, the Duke of *Orleans* invited him to come to Rincy for it, and appointed the day when he himself would be there to return it. *Pinet* went on the day appointed in
a public

a public carriage. The Duke of Orleans returned him his portfolio, and lent him one of his own carriages, with a postillion and servant in his livery, to take him back to Paris. He set off in the afternoon early enough to arrive in town long before sun-set. In fact, he did arrive there, but robbed and mortally wounded. The Duke of Orleans's people, who came with him, appeared before a magistrate, and deposed that this murder had been committed by robbers, whom they said they had met. The surgeon who was called having examined *Pinet's* wounds, thinking, although they were mortal, that some life might remain in him, gave him every assistance. *Pinet* opened his eyes, repeated three or four times, *My portfolio! my portfolio!—The villains!*—and expired. This robbery, which deranged the fortunes of a very great number of persons, was at that time imputed to the Duke of Orleans; but there were no proofs of it, and during two years every possible means was tried in vain to procure them. At last, about the month of October or November 1791, some of the principal creditors discovered a Valet-de-Chambre whom the Duke of Orleans had discharged,

discharged, and who was in his service at the time of the death of *Pinet*. They applied to him, and offered him great rewards if he would procure them the proofs they wanted. After negotiating with him a long while, they concluded a bargain with him, and obtained intelligence for which they paid enormously. But to make any use of them it was necessary he should consent to swear to the charge before a magistrate, to which he was extremely averse, lest, as he said, the Duke of *Orleans* should cause him to be assassinated or poisoned. They hoped, however, by the means of money to determine him to do it. But this man disappeared suddenly, and left no trace of his flight. The creditors presumed that he had sold his silence to the Duke of *Orleans*, who had, no doubt, insisted on his quitting the kingdom. I was informed of these particulars about the beginning of March 1792, by one of the creditors, who came to ask me if, as Minister of the Marine, I could not procure them the means of pursuing and arresting this Valet-de-Chambre in England. I told him that all I could do was to charge the French Consul in London to inquire if the man had arrived there; but

but first it was necessary that he should give me the name of the man, an exact description of his person, and the precise date of his disappearing. I quitted the Ministry a few days after, without having again seen the creditor, and I heard no more of this affair.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Violent Troubles excited at Aix by the Clubs—Cowardice of the Constituted Authorities—Pascalis, the Advocate, and two other Persons, hanged by the People—Weakness of the Measures adopted by the Assembly—The Committee of Inquiry denounce a pretended Conspiracy of Royalists formed at Lyons—Severity of the Assembly—Debates concerning the Provision for the Princes—Character of the Advocate Camus—The Assembly charge the President to wait on the King, to be informed of the Motives which had retarded the Sanction of the Decree relative to the Oath of the Ecclesiastical Public Functionaries—The King's Answer—The Assembly

not satisfied with it, again depute their President to demand a definitive Answer—The Abbé Maury attempting to oppose it, Camus, by a Chicane of Form, prevents him from entering on the Discussion—The Assembly decree that the President should demand from the King an Answer signed—Camus substitutes in his Motion the Word Acceptation instead of the Word Sanction—His Majesty's Answer—M. Lambert, the Minister of the Finances, retires—M. de Lessart, Minister of the Home Department, fills both those Offices.

ON the day that the Jacobin Club of Paris, triumphing in the Parterre at the Opera, contented themselves with compelling the imprudent actor to make an atonement on the stage for saying, *that he thought that every good Frenchman must love the King and Queen*, the Jacobin Club at Aix were also displaying their power against the Royalists, but in a much more sanguinary manner. A report had been spread for several days that some small private parties, composed of persons pointed out to the people under the de-

1

nomination

nomination of malecontents and enemies of the Revolution, had formed a plan of uniting in one society under the title of *The Club of the Friends of the King and Clergy*. It was asserted on the 10th of December that this Club were to wear the white cockade on Sunday the 12th of the same month ; that it was not yet, however, in existence ; that those who proposed to establish it *were endeavouring to get subscribers, and spared no means of corruption to succeed in the augmentation of their number* *.

Be that as it may, the Jacobins alarmed at the dangers announced in the very title which this rival society proposed to assume, united on the 12th of December with another Revolutionary Club established at Aix under the name of the Anti-political Club, and swore a-new to maintain the faith due to their civic oath. This alliance being thus formed, a numerous detachment composed of the members of both clubs went and stood before a coffee-house, where several Officers of the

* See the letter from the President of the Department *Des bouches du Rhône*, reported in the minutes of the Evening Sitzings of the 18th of December 1790.

regiment de Lyonnais were assembled, and in company with some persons pointed out as members of the future club of the King's friends. The patriots signalised their arrival at the coffee-house by hootings addressed to those gentlemen, who were at first content to answer them in the same manner. But insults and menaces soon succeeding to the hootings, three or four young Officers being exasperated, fell sword in hand on the deputation, put them to the rout, and slightly wounded several patriots. These, as they fled, fired several pistols, by which however no person was wounded.

All the Constituted Authorities immediately assembled at the *Hotel-de-Ville* to consult on the measures proper to be taken on the occasion. Some of the Municipal Officers going round the streets to endeavour to re-establish order, arrested four Officers of the *regiment de Lyonnais*, and sent them to the *Hotel-de-Ville*. The Administrators of the Department there assembled were informed that other young Officers had gone to their quarters, turned out the regiment under arms, and proposed to them to go and deliver by open force their comrades, who had been arrested; and also

that the patriots armed were coming in great numbers to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to demand justice. The regiment had refused to march unless required by the Administrators ; so that it only remained to make the patriots return peaceably home, by assuring them that they should have justice. But how could that be done without inflicting punishment on themselves, who were in reality the aggressors ? Therefore as nothing was deemed less patriotic than to take umbrage against the patriots how guilty soever they might be, the Administrators acted exactly contrary to what they ought to have done : they immediately sent away the *regiment de Lyonnais*, who did not hesitate to obey, and in their place received 400 men belonging to the Swiss regiment of Ernest, and 400 of the National Guards, who came from Marseilles. The rage of the Jacobins was not yet satisfied. The cowardly condescension of the Administrators was a triumph, but was not sufficient revenge ; blood was what they wanted, and the populace promised them they should have it. Several persons pointed out as suspected of royalism were arrested, and carried to prison. In that number was the old advocate *Pascalis*, a lawyer of the first

eminence, a man of great talents and virtues, and who possessed the general esteem which he had merited by fifty years of honourable services. His revolutionary crime was having on the 27th of September, at the bar of the Parliament, and at the head of the profession of advocates, pronounced a very energetic protest against the Decree for suppressing that Court, and which was to be put in execution on the 30th of the same month. The Administrators were weak enough to confine this venerable old man, and the companions of his misfortune in prison, under the guard of a detachment of the regiment of Ernest and the National Guard. The day following, at eight in the morning, an immense multitude surrounded the prison, crying loudly for the head of *Pascalis*. Most of the Administrators and several Municipal Officers attended in their scarfs, and endeavoured to calm the people, as far as the fear with which they were themselves seized would permit them. But the people seldom grow calm at the desire of those who fear them; they would neither hear nor utter any thing but the cries of death. The gates of the prison were forced open in an instant. *Pascalis* and two other persons arrested the day before were

were dragged out, and hanged upon trees in the presence of 400 men of the regiment of Ernest, and 400 of the National Guard of Marseilles, of the National Guard of Aix, and of all the Constituted Authorities, who appeared to have sent away the regiment *de Lyonnais* only that this horrible crime might be committed without any obstacle.

When this account was related to the Assembly, they were, according to their usual mode, afflicted and provoked, but nevertheless contented themselves to decree, upon the motion of their Committees of Inquiry and Reports, that the King should be entreated to send into the Department of the Mouths of the Rhône a sufficient number of the troops of the line to re-establish the public tranquillity; and also to send thither three Civil Commissioners, charged jointly with three members chosen from the Administrative Body, to call in the public force. The Abbé *Maury* insisted in vain that there should be prefixed to this Decree an energetic preamble against those popular insurrections, against those crimes which dishonoured the Nation. *Charles de Lameth* strongly resisted this motion, and even thought that the Decree went too far. “The people are accused,”

faid he: “ I defend them : I am far, however,
“ from excusing them for committing crimes
“ even when provoked. But if we look at these
“ events in their proper point of view, we find
“ them to be affairs originating in self-de-
“ fence, in which the people have always the
“ advantage.—They are provoked to violence
“ —Armed assemblies are held—Our coun-
“ trymen were irritated and harassed by the
“ Ministers whom we have attacked ; and this
“ is the people who are accused !—I call
“ upon the enemies of the people to put an
“ end to the mourning with which they
“ cover the country.—As to the plan for the
“ Decree, I do not see why we should send
“ Commissioners : this is a useful measure,
“ of which we should not be too prodigal.
“ The Administrators are not suspected, the
“ good cause triumphs ! I think there is no
“ occasion for a Decree on this subject, and
“ I move, that the President be charged to
“ write a letter of thanks to the grenadiers
“ of the *regiment de Lyonnais*, who have
“ set a great example of submission to the
“ laws.”

The speaker was interrupted by repeated
applauses at every sentence of this speech,
which I have reported very accurately, to
give

give an exact idea of the principles and nature of the talents of this tender friend of the people.

Immediately after the report of this affair, the Deputy *Voidel* ascended the tribune, and announced the most important information of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy about to break out at Lyons, which was plotted at Nice, Turin, and Antibes, and the ramifications of which extended into different parts of the kingdom. “The preparations making on our frontiers, the journeys of *M. D’Autichamp*, the secret arrival of a deceitful Minister at Turin, the sudden assembling of all the conspirators; all these movements,” said the reporter, “excited the vigilance of your Committee. At length all is discovered.”

But what was the extent of this great discovery, at which the whole Assembly was transported with joy? It had no other basis than the bare declarations of four Lyonnese informers, who pretended that they had purposely enrolled themselves among the conspirators, in order to be admitted into their secret.

The result of their declarations was, that three months before a Count *de Lyon*, who had a natural son named *Beaujour*, being
told

told that *Monet*, one of the informers, was much in the confidence of the workmen, proposed an interview with him by this son, who had spoken to him a great deal concerning the evils which the Revolution had brought on, of the annihilation of commerce, and so forth, and who had informed him that an energetic plan was about to be put in execution to stir up the people privately; adding, that doubtless this good people would never suffer the estates of the Clergy to be sold, and especially those of the Counts *de Lyon*.—That after these overtures, *Beaujour* had carried *Monet* to two young Officers, named *Descarts* and *Terrasse*, who introduced him to the Count, with whom he had had constant conferences during two months; that one day the Count came to his house, and said to him, “The best means of gaining the people is to assemble as many persons as possible together in public-houses, and for this purpose to advance money to the landlords, that they may sell their wine cheap; that *Monet* having observed to him that the landlords might entertain suspicions, he allowed the observation to be just; but added: “Well, we must be content to mention the Princes, and engage the people
“ to

“ to recall them, by announcing that when
 “ they return they will scatter abundance of
 “ money, and cause the duties of entry to
 “ be diminished ; that the King will come
 “ and reside in the town ; that he will find
 “ a means of escaping from Paris ; that he
 “ will bring along with him the National
 “ Assembly ; and that the Constitution will
 “ still be forwarded.”—*Monet* said, that he
 had with these instructions given him several
 incendiary libels, of which he had a store,
 and charged him to distribute them ; that he
 had also disclosed to him his project of causing
M. Guillain to be chosen Mayor, and the
 manœuvres he had put in practice for that
 purpose in the patriotic clubs, and to gain the
 presidents and secretaries ; that *M. M. Des-*
cartes and *Terrasse* had complained to him
 (*Monet*) that they were ill-served at the
Hotel-de-la-Commune, although they paid
 well ; that they often spoke to him of the
 confidence they reposed in *M. de la Cha-*
pelle, the Commandant of the place, whom
 they always called *Friend La Chapelle*.—
 “ At last,” added the informer, “ *M. Ter-*
 “ *rasse* said to me one day at his house:
 “ *Well, to-morrow must be the day.*”—
 “ No, next Sunday,” replied I.—He regret-
 ted

ted the delay, then said, “The explosion
“ must take place on Monday: I will intro-
“ duce you to the Count *D’Artois*; the
“ Princes will reward those liberally who
“ serve them.” “*M. Descartes* also,” con-
tinued *Monet*, “expressed much uneasiness
“ at the delay which I proposed.—When we
“ put off matters from one day to another,”
said he, “we are obliged to give notice to a
“ great number of people.”

Berthel, the second informer, declared that he had had several conferences with *Guillain*; that on the 27th of November *Guillain* asked him what his means were? *Berthel* answered him, that he knew about thirty porters who might be relied upon; that in all their conferences *Guillain* had conversed with him about raising the people, of persuading them to demand a diminution of the duty upon bread and wine, and of promising him that if the Princes were invited to return, they would lower the excise duties of the town.

Charot, another informer, declared that *Terrasse* had also spoken to him about stirring up the people, of recalling the Princes, and had told him that *M. de la Chapelle* would put himself at the head of the people; that

that the duties of entry should be lowered on the day that the Princes arrived; that the King and the National Assembly were to come to Lyons, which would become the capital of the kingdom, and that Paris would be a desert.

Jacob David, the fourth and last informer, declared that *Terrasse* had talked to him in the same manner of raising the people, and of the return of the Princes; and that he had moreover said to him: “The people will
“assemble in arms in the square before the
“*Hotel-de-Ville* while a petition is pre-
“sented to the Municipality. The brave
“*La Chapelle* and myself will put our-
“selves at their head. We have three thou-
“sand men to go for the Princes. If three
“thousand men are not sufficient, we have
“five, and, if necessary, six thousand: and
“besides, the insurrection will break out on
“the same day throughout France. As
“many women as possible must be brought
“to the square, and without any fear of the
“red flag: the troops will not fire upon the
“people; we are sure of them.”

It further appeared from their depositions, that *Monet* had received fifty louis from the Count *de Lyon* at two different times; *Ber-*
thel

the two louis from *Guillain*, and *Charot* four louis from *Terrasse*. *Jacob David* was the only one to whom nothing had been given.

The Municipality, after having examined the persons mentioned in these informations, caused *Descartes*, *Terrasse*, and *Guillain* to be arrested, and imprisoned at *Pierre-en-Aise*, and sent an account of it to the Committee of Inquiry of the Assembly.

This account, of which I have made an accurate extract, was terminated by some patriotic phrases, and by a plan for a Decree for removing the three prisoners to Paris, for requesting the King to change the Commandant and garrison of Lyons, and for enjoining every French Public Functionary receiving pensions, or any stipend whatever from the State, to return into the kingdom within a month, under pain of having their pensions or stipends suspended.

To shew the inconsistency and barbarity of the Decree, it was sufficient to compare it with that which had been adopted concerning the affair at Aix, and the Abbé *Maury* did not fail to make the application. “ You
“ heard,” said he, “ with horror at the be-
“ ginning of this Sitting, the recital of the
“ most

“ most atrocious crimes, committed in the
“ presence of many thousand witnesses in
“ contempt of all law, of your Constitu-
“ tion, and constituted authorities ; never-
“ theless none of the guilty were arrested.
“ You ordered no prosecution against them ;
“ and now, upon bare suspicions of a con-
“ spiracy, as ridiculous as absurd, it is pro-
“ posed to you to drag to the prisons of the
“ capital three persons, against whom there
“ exists no other proof than unconnected
“ and clandestine informations privately re-
“ ceived by the Municipal Officers, instead
“ of being taken before competent judges,
“ and according to the form prescribed by
“ the law. Three of your fellow-citizens
“ have been just hanged by the people for
“ being suspected of incivism, of Royalism,
“ or of not approving the Revolution, and
“ no punishment has been inflicted for the
“ crime ; yet, under these circumstances, it
“ is proposed to you to order the fugitives
“ to return to France. Is it not asking them
“ to come, and allow themselves to be assas-
“ sinated ? Can you, in fact, answer for
“ their lives ? Which of you will dare to
“ insure mine ?”

The Abbé *Maury* then discussed the in-
formations

formations received by the Municipality. He proved that they were contradictory in some points, and in others falsified by the fact; that *M. de la Chapelle*, who was pointed out as the person who was to act the principal character in the conspiracy, had been judged free from all blame by the Municipality themselves, who had not arrested him; that it evidently followed from all these impostures and contradictions, that if the informers were not great scoundrels, the accused must be the weakest of intriguers. He recalled to mind the recent business of the Count *de Lautrec*. The informers against him to the Municipality of Toulouse were at least worthy of as much credit as those from whom the Municipality of Lyons had received these informations, and against one of whom a warrant had been issued from a Criminal Court; yet the Assembly had acknowledged the innocence of *M. de Lautrec*, and the imposture of those who had denounced him.—“Those impostors,” said he as he concluded, “remained unpunished; but that it may not be the case with those of Lyons, I move that if the accused be arrested, and brought to the prisons of the capital, their accusers

“ cusers be also brought hither. By this
“ amendment it is not my intention to con-
“ cur in the Decree proposed to you ; but
“ since we must yield to a majority, I say to
“ that majority, that the example of *M. de*
“ *Lautrec* ought to teach them that all who
“ are accused are not guilty, nor all who ac-
“ cuse innocent.”

M. de Cazalès insisted principally upon
the question of public right. “ It is not,”
said he, “ an easy matter to decide with pre-
“ cision how far the public interest autho-
“ rises the Legislative Body to invade private
“ liberty ; for it is evident that public liberty
“ is composed of the liberty of individuals.
“ Society has doubtless a right to impose
“ upon every agent whom they pay, condi-
“ tions most adapted to the public good ;
“ but every society that has entirely changed
“ its constitution, has disengaged every ci-
“ tizen from those ties which bound him to
“ his country. In such a case every man
“ has a right to say, I do not choose your
“ new constitution ; give me my property,
“ and I will leave the country. A person is
“ only criminal when he violates the con-
“ stitution to which he has given his con-
“ sent. Recall to mind the indignation ex-

“ cited throughout France by the confisca-
“ tion of the property of the religious fugi-
“ tives, who refused to submit to the law
“ which revoked the edict of Nantz.—The
“ principle is this; every gift, salary, or
“ pension received from the Nation, carries
“ with it the obligation of submitting to
“ those terms which the Legislators think
“ fit; but you cannot, without forgetting
“ every principle of justice and liberty, re-
“ trench what may have been given in pur-
“ chase for any property whatever. It is
“ certain, for example, that the provision
“ made for the Princes of the Blood is not a
“ salary from the Nation, but a compensa-
“ tion in lieu of their patrimony; for I can-
“ not suppose it will be maintained that ori-
“ ginally they possessed no property. The
“ provision is only a compensation for real
“ property, and in which the bargain was
“ by no means made in favour of the Princes.
“ It should be placed under the same laws as
“ private property. Besides, can any of you
“ answer this question: *Are the Princes*
“ *safe in this kingdom?*”

Barnave observed that the proposed Decree did not in any manner apply to the provision for the Princes, but only related to the suppress-
ing

ing of the stipends or pensions of the fugitives, who did not return to France within the time fixed; and that according to the principles established by *M. de Cazalès* himself, the measure was as just as it was necessary.

M. de la Fayette, ever in pursuit of the popularity that was flying from him, managed to obtain some applause by also maintaining that the proposed Decree was necessary and very urgent, to put an end to the disorder and alarms excited in the kingdom by the projects of the enemies of the Nation, although they were no better known than their political systems; “and although,” added he, “there was nothing to fear for the liberty so gloriously acquired by the Nation, and defended by three millions of National Guards ready to face all its opponents.” He concluded with voting that the Decree proposed by the Committee should be adopted according to the amendment or explanation which *Barnave* had given to it; and the majority of the Assembly were of the same opinion *.

This

* To remove the doubts and ridicule which the Abbé *Maury* had cast upon the pretended conspiracy at Lyons, and upon the alarms of the Committee of Inquiry, *Voidel*

This explanation made by *Barnave* to *M. de Cazalès*, relative to the provision for the Princes, and innocently adopted by *M. de la Fayette*, was highly perfidious, or at least ventured on very slight grounds. *Barnave*, in fact, was not ignorant that the grants for the

again rummaged among the papers of this Committee, and found two letters from the Administrators of the Department of the Var, which he read to the Assembly in the Sitting of the 23d of December. They announced that a person who could be confided in had written from Nice: “that every thing was going on in a fair way; “that the young confederates were buying horses, and “preparing to set off; that those of Turin manifested “the same eagerness; that a blue and black bow, tied “to the button-hole of the waistcoat, was the new badge “of the confederation, and was, it was said, the emblem of two high Powers, on whom they relied; that “it was to be feared that they had some views, and perhaps hopes of Lyons; that it was certain that they had “correspondents in that city; that some weeks before “one of the associates from Lyons had come to Nice, “and held conferences with the party; and that the Administrators of the Department of the Lower Alps “were afraid that the enemies of the Constitution should “seize the town of Entreveaux, which was the key to “the Department, and whose fidelity was doubtful.”

The reporter in consequence proposed, and it was decreed, that the King should be entreated to send a sufficient garrison to guard the post of Entreveaux. He afterwards added, by way of observation in support of his first

the provision of the Princes had been annulled by a Decree of the 13th of August preceding; that the Princes were not to possess them beyond the 1st of January 1791, and that after that period each of them should receive, as an indemnification or compensation, an annuity of a million of livres, payable out of the National Treasury, besides an annual allowance, which the Assembly meant to take into consideration. The opinion of *M. de Cazalès* was therefore not foreign to the question, at least as to the allowance to be made to the Princes who were to be provided for. This allowance was fixed at a million a year for each of them in the Sitting of the

first report concerning the affair of Lyons, that the Committee of Inquiry had been informed that a great number of the former gentlemen of Auvergne had rode to Lyons on the night of the 10th of December, each of them having a led horse; that when they found the three leaders of the conspiracy had been arrested, they rode off, leaving behind them in the city 300 horses without owners.

The truth of the fact is, that a very well-planned project of the Royalists was to have taken place at Lyons; but the indiscretion of some agents, and the alarms the King had conceived on the occasion, had caused it to be given up several days before the pitiful discoveries which had so much alarmed the Committee of Inquiry.

20th of December ; that is to say, two days after the Decree, that every Frenchman receiving any pension or allowance whatsoever from the State, who should not be present and resident in the kingdom, or who should not take his civic oath within a month, should forfeit his pension or allowance. It is more than probable that the principal object of this Decree was to deprive the emigrant Princes of the million which was to be granted them. Little doubt could remain on this head, when in the debate upon the amount of their allowance these remarkable words, forced by the power of truth for the first time from the brutal disposition of the Deputy *Camus* were heard : “ Is *M. D’Ar-*
“ *tois* a man to take an oath in order to have
“ a little more or less ? ”

Brutality was the least fault of this old advocate. He was more remarked in the Assembly by that black ingratitude, pushed even to madness, which he constantly manifested in regard to the Clergy, from whom he had derived all his support, and against whom he had always some new motion to snuffle*.

However

* *Nasilloner*.—This expression, trifling as it may appear, will not be censured by those who have heard this speaker.

However extravagant or atrocious these were, they were almost always adopted, because he generally had the precaution to propose them only when he was sure of a majority. It was in this manner that on the 23d of December, at the opening of the Sitting, that is to say before the Assembly was full, and while the principal Members of the *Coté-Droit* were absent, it was, on a motion of *Camus's*, unanimously decreed without a debate, and with great applauses from the *Coté-Gauche* and the Galleries, that the President should go to the King in the course of the morning to enquire the reasons for delaying the *sanction* to the Decree of the 25th of November, enjoining all the Ecclesiastical Public Functionaries to take the oath to the civil constitution of the Clergy, and to entreat his Majesty to *sanction* the Decree without delay.

These two resolutions were evidently contrary to the nature of the right of the *sanction*, which they reduced to no more than a forced

speaker. He had so disagreeable a manner of speaking through his nose, that it would have been enough to have given a disgust to eloquence, even if he had possessed that of the Abbé *Maury*, from which assuredly he was at an immense distance.

act of obedience, which the King could not even delay without assigning his motives.

The same day, in the Evening Sitting, the President reported the King's answer, which he had received in writing, in the following terms :

“ When I received the Decree concerning
“ the civil constitution of the Clergy, I
“ caused it to be announced in the National
“ Assembly that I would take proper mea-
“ sures to insure the full and entire execution
“ of it. I have been constantly occupied
“ with the subject ever since. The Decree
“ of the 27th of November being but a
“ consequence of that of July, no doubt can
“ remain concerning my intentions ; but it
“ appeared to me to deserve the greatest at-
“ tention in its execution. My respect for
“ Religion, and the duty incumbent upon me
“ to establish the Constitution without agi-
“ tation, and without commotion, have
“ made me use redoubled activity in my
“ measures. I look every moment for its
“ effects, and I hope that the National As-
“ sembly will rely upon me with the greater
“ confidence, as by the Decrees I am charged
“ with the execution of the laws, and as in
“ taking

“ taking the gentlest and surest means to
“ avoid whatever might disturb the public
“ tranquillity, I think I shall consolidate the
“ foundations of the Constitution of the
“ kingdom. I again demand from the As-
“ sembly the confidence I merit from them.”

If the Assembly had been truly animated with the love of good, if the most furious among the Factious, and their stupid or misled adherents, had not had the majority, how must they have been delighted with an answer so replete with candour, wisdom, and virtue.

Camus was the first to attack it. “ The
“ repeated testimonies of attachment to the
“ Constitution in the King’s answer,” said
he, “ will ever be grateful to us; but he
“ cannot refuse his acceptance to the consti-
“ tutional Decrees. With respect to those
“ which are simply matters of regulation,
“ they should be either sanctioned or refused
“ by him within a week, and if he refuses
“ to sanction them he ought to state his mo-
“ tives. A longer delay would endanger
“ the tranquillity of the kingdom. Pru-
“ dence has for a time prevailed upon you
“ to shut your eyes, but there has been too
“ much

“ much delay. Call to mind the Sittings
“ of the 20th and 23d of June, when you
“ dealt the last blows to the Royal despo-
“ tism. Recall your firmness. All pal-
“ liatives are exhausted. No other resource
“ is left. Be what you ought to be, or re-
“ nounce liberty. I have seen letters from
“ several Bishops, which mention that they
“ wait the *Pope's* decision. Do you per-
“ ceive the consequence of such a conduct?
“ Disobedience on the one hand, and submis-
“ sion on the other . . . How can Frenchmen
“ think we will submit to the VETO of a
“ Trans-Alpine, of him whom they call the
“ great, the sovereign Pontiff of the Church,
“ as if it had any other than JESUS CHRIST,
“ its founder,” &c. &c.

The rest of his speech was a dissertation as dull as indecent against the Bishops, intermingled with some sentences of Jansenism and hypocrisy. He concluded by moving, that the President should be charged to wait upon the King, to represent to him the numberless inconveniences which would result from his deferring the acceptance of the Decree of the 27th of November, and to entreat his Majesty to give a definitive answer the following day.

The

The Abbé *Maury* ran immediately to the tribune demanding to be heard, and even the Members of the *Coté-Gauche* strongly insisted that he should be allowed to speak. *Camus*, a little disconcerted, and doubtless thinking himself abandoned by his party, had recourse to the quirk of a pettifogger, and started a difficulty of form, to prevent the Abbé *Maury* from discussing the question. He asked the President if the King's answer was signed, and if it had the stamp of legality? The President answered that he had not been commissioned to ask for a signed answer, and that he should have brought back a verbal one if the King, after having read it, had not given it to him in writing. It was immediately proposed to adjourn all decision on his Majesty's answer till it had been addressed, signed, and counter-signed to the Assembly, and to charge the President immediately to wait upon the King to demand it in that form, that the responsibility might never be uncertain. This motion, after long debates, was adopted in spite of all the Abbé *Maury* could say to prove that the form of the King's answer ought not to suspend the decision on the question.

It is here necessary to remark, that this Decree

cree of the 27th of November was not a constitutional Decree, but simply a Decree containing a law concerning the execution of the civil constitution of the Clergy ; neither had it been presented for the King's acceptance, which was always a matter of course, but for the sanction, which it was understood he had the liberty of refusing, informing the Assembly of his motives within eight days. *Camus* himself was so well convinced that this Decree could not be classed among the constitutional Decrees, that in the motion which he made at the opening of the Sitting of the 23d of December, he only spoke of the delay of the *sanction*, and the President was charged to ask the motives why the Decree had not been yet *sanctioned*, and to entreat his Majesty without delay to give his *sanction* to the said Decree. The King having stated his motives in the answer which the President had reported, had fully complied with the constitutional Decree that regulated the exercise of the right of sanction ; for it had not been decreed that his Majesty should sign his motives, and cause them to be counter-signed by a Secretary of State.

By acknowledging and declaring as they had done, that responsibility was not attached

to

to the sanction, it could not be subjected to forms required for acts where the Ministers were responsible. Thus the observation made by *Camus* on the want of signature in the King's answer was, as I have before observed, a mere quibble; but although it produced the effect he meant it should, he was not satisfied with this success. He foresaw that the King might return the same answer signed and counter-signed, and that in that case the sanction, and consequently the execution of the Decree of the 27th of November, would remain suspended during his Majesty's pleasure. It was necessary to avoid this new embarrassment, and the method he took was this. He no longer used in the Evening Sitting the words *sanction*, and to *sanction*, which he twice repeated in the motion made in the morning. He substituted the word *acceptance* as being much better calculated to insure the prompt execution of the Decree; for the Assembly had attached to that single word a kind of magic power of conferring the constitutional character to every Decree whatsoever, and they did not fail to employ it in all Decrees where they foresaw the sanction might be delayed or refused. It is true that hitherto they had not
thought

thought proper to make use of it in Decrees which they had already acknowledged to contain merely legal objects, by presenting them as such for the sanction. The obstinate animosity of *Camus* against the Clergy suggested to him this gross artifice, which reduced to a fervile and mechanical office the character already too insignificant which was assigned to the King, in the exercise of the Executive Power. Several Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, who spoke after *Camus*, dwelt also on the *acceptance* of the Decree, and spoke no more of the *sanction*. *Barnave*, in supporting the opinion that an answer in legal form should be required of the King, formally declared that the questions, whether the right of the Constituent Body did not extend to *all necessary acts, necessary for carrying the Constitution into execution* ? and whether those were acts which required the sanction ? could not be attended with a shadow of doubt, when the Assembly should think proper to consider them.

The King, being informed by the President of the Decree which had been passed, determined to adhere to his former answer, without any other alteration than the addition of his signature, and that of the Keeper of
the

the Seals ; but it was more than probable that upon this answer the Assembly would not have hesitated to declare the Decree of the 27th of November constitutional, to demand its acceptance, and to cause their demand to be supported by some popular commotions, which already began to be manifested under the windows of the Palace, by the motions of the groups, and by their vociferations against the Queen. This was the usual manœuvre of the Factious. These different considerations determined the King to accept, without further delay, the Decree of the 27th of November, and to declare it to the Assembly by the following letter, in which his Majesty carefully underlined the words *accept*, and *acceptance*.

“ I have *accepted* the Decree of the 27th
“ of November last. In yielding to the
“ wishes of the National Assembly, I am
“ happy to explain the motives that induced
“ me to delay this *acceptance*, and those
“ which determine me to give it now. I
“ shall do it openly and frankly, as becomes
“ my character. This kind of communica-
“ tion between the National Assembly and
“ myself

“ myself ought to draw closer the ties of
“ that mutual confidence so necessary to the
“ happiness of France.

“ I have several times repeated to the Na-
“ tional Assembly my invariable intention
“ of supporting, by every means in my
“ power, the Constitution which I have ac-
“ cepted, and sworn to maintain. In delay-
“ ing to make known the *acceptance* of the
“ Decree, it was the wish of my heart that
“ the means of severity might be prevented
“ by those of gentleness; and by giving
“ time for cool reflection, I could not but
“ think that the execution of the Decree
“ would have been effected with a harmony
“ which would have been no less agreeable to
“ the National Assembly than to myself.

“ I hoped that these motives of prudence
“ would be generally felt; but since doubts
“ have arisen concerning my intentions,
“ which the known candour of my charac-
“ ter should remove, my confidence in the
“ National Assembly urges me to *accept* the
“ Decree.

“ I once more repeat, that the surest and
“ most proper means of calming agitations,
“ and of conquering all resistance, is the
“ reciprocity

“ reciprocity of this confidence between
“ the National Assembly and myself; it
“ is necessary; I deserve it; I depend
“ upon it.

(Signed) “ LOUIS.

And lower down, “ DUPORT DU TERTRE.”

The *Coté-Gauche* triumphant, warmly applauded their victory for several minutes; and the Galleries enraptured, without well knowing why, broke into the most noisy joy. The same scene was renewed the following day when the oath was taken by sixty Priests, or Monks, all Members of the Assembly, and all convinced that it would be doing injustice to the Legislative Body to suspect them of intending to encroach upon the Church. “ The very title of the civil
“ constitution of the Clergy,” said the Abbé *Gregoire*, “ sufficiently evinces the intention
“ of the Assembly. In the face of France,
“ and of the universe, they have solemnly
“ manifested their profound respect for Re-
“ ligion. It was never their design to make
“ the slightest attack upon the doctrines, the
“ hierarchy, and spiritual authority of the
“ head of the Church. They acknowledge

“ these objects to be out of their jurisdiction,” &c. &c. This revolutionary demoniac was not only an impudent liar, but also, in other respects, one of the most worthless fellows in the Assembly.

Mirabeau attended none of the late Sitings. He had informed the Assembly by the President, on the 22d of December, that he meant to be absent for a month. This unexpected absence, at so critical a moment, equally astonished all parties, and occasioned much conversation and many conjectures. No one could guess at the motives which actuated *Mirabeau* to leave to others the honour or the popularity of aiming the last blows at the Clergy, of whom he had hitherto been one of the most violent antagonists. The mystery will be cleared up in the following chapters, and I shall conclude this by observing that, at the same period in which the Assembly completed the total spoliation of the most respectable ministers of Religion, by imposing upon them, under pain of deprivation of their benefices, an oath which they were sure they would never take, they were employed in regulating the mode of restoring the

the confiscated property of fugitive Protestants to their children and representatives. The revenue of this property in the year 1790 amounted to 110,000 livres, as appears by the Decree of the 9th of December 1790. If there is a time for illegal confiscation, the day of legal restitution must also arrive, and the last hour of a Government, whose basis and sole support depend upon successive and continual confiscation, cannot be far off. It is a monster that devours itself.

The month of December 1790, was also the period of the retreat of *M. Lambert*, the Comptroller-General, a Magistrate as estimable on account of his knowledge as of his virtues. He had succeeded *M. Necker* in the department of the Finances, or rather in such insignificant and trifling portions of that department, as the Assembly had not absorbed: for they had so completely concentrated in their Committees all the branches of the Administration, that the Comptroller-General had less power, business, and influence, than formerly fell to the share of his head clerks: and *M. de Lessart*, who succeeded *M. Lambert* in a month after his

appointment*, united to the department of the Finances that of Minister of the Interior, become vacant by the resignation of *M. de St. Priest*.

* The 25th of January 1791.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A great Majority of the Deputies of the Clergy refuse to take the new Oath—Fruitless Attempts to intimidate them—Decree relative to supplying the Vacancies occasioned in Ecclesiastical Preferments by the Deprivation of such Dignitaries and Incumbents as had refused, or should refuse, to take the Oath—A sublime Idea expressed by M. de Montlausier—Extraordinary Address composed by Mirabeau rejected—The Assembly embarrassed—Denunciation of a new Club established under the Title of Friends of the Monarchical Constitution—M. Malouet undertakes its Defence—The Mob surround the House of M. de Clermont-Tonnere, who was a Member of the Club—Alarm occasioned by the

Preparations made by Foreign Powers—Measures adopted by the Assembly relative to the Army, and the Appointment of Ambassadors—Mirabeau President—The Professors and Masters of the University of Paris appear at the Bar of the Assembly, and take the new Oath.

RELIGION gained the purest triumph, and its faithful Ministers were covered with glory on the day when the Assembly, impatient to enforce the Decree of the 27th of November, attempted to compel the Prelates and Parochial Clergy among them to take the oath ordained.

In the Sitting of the 2d of January, the Bishop of *Clermont* ascended the tribune with the intention of proposing the form of an oath qualified with restrictions, which the Assembly could not have rejected without evidently betraying a design to put an end to all spiritual authority. As they did not yet dare to avow this plan, the Bishop of *Clermont* was not suffered to unmask it. He had scarcely therefore articulated a word, when *Treilhard*, the Advocate, interrupted him, and moved that he should be called

upon to declare, in the first place, whether he meant or not to take the oath pure and unqualified. This motion was put to the vote and carried, notwithstanding the remonstrances made by the Bishop, and by several Members of the *Coté-Droit*. The President then called upon the Bishop of *Clermont* to declare, whether he meant or not to take the oath pure and unqualified? “To speak explicitly,” replied he, “and “as becomes my character, I declare I do “not think that I can conscientiously take”—He was prevented from finishing his sentence by several Members calling for the order of the day, which was adopted.

The oath which the Bishop of *Clermont* would have taken was conceived in these terms :

“ I swear to watch with care over the
“ faithful, whose conduct has been, or may
“ be, entrusted to me by the Church : to be
“ true to the Nation, to the Law, and to the
“ King ; and to maintain with all my power,
“ in all that relates to political order, the
“ Constitution decreed by the National As-
“ sembly, and accepted by the King, with
“ the express exception of those matters

“ which depend particularly upon the au-
“ thority of the Church.”

The very next day this oath was printed, and copies of it were dispersed through the capital, under the following title: *The Civic Oath, proposed by the Bishop of Clermont on Sunday, the 2d of January 1791, adopted by a great number of the members of the Clergy, and which the National Assembly refused to hear.* In several copies of it even the word *pronounced* was substituted in the title in the place of that of *proposed*.

This edition was denounced on the same day to the Assembly, and produced violent debates. The Bishop of *Clermont* declared that in the edition printed from his own copy the word was *proposed*; that he thought himself the more entitled to use that expression, as he had in fact *proposed* in the Assembly to take the oath there printed; and that after their refusal to hear him, he had put it upon the table. “ An oath,” added he, “ may be required of any person before his
“ admittance into an office, because he is
“ then at liberty either to accept or refuse it;
“ but no man in office ought to be called
“ upon

“ upon to take a new oath which he thinks
“ repugnant to his conscience. Mine may
“ possibly deceive me ; but according to its
“ dictates, I can take no other oath than that
“ which I have caused to be printed ; and
“ if that be not accepted, I declare that as I
“ have neither resigned, nor wish to resign,
“ I shall not consider myself as deprived.”

Barnave observed that it was inconsistent with the dignity of the Assembly to enter into this discussion, and moved that they should simply declare to such of their Members as were ecclesiastical public Functionaries that the time which was granted them for taking the oath would expire at one o'clock on the next day.

M. de Cazalès urged in vain all that wisdom and justice could dictate against the proposition ; the adjournment which he proposed was rejected, and *Barnave's* motion adopted.

Every revolutionary scheme, all the means of terror had been employed to insure the success of the Sitting of the 4th of January. The Decree of the 27th of November had been altered, and a forged sentence introduced into the preamble, which declared those Ecclesiastics who would not take the
appointed

appointed oath disturbers of the public tranquillity. This Decree, thus falsified, was stuck up at every quarter of the town by order of the Municipality early on Sunday morning, the 2d of January. It was read by the workmen of the Fauxbourgs, and by those who had nothing to do on that day, and had been discussed in every public-house: the mob-orators treated the subject according to their style at the Palais-Royal, and without difficulty convinced their numerous hearers how important it was to support the execution of it.

On the 4th of January, at the commencement of the Sitting, a tumultuous and threatening mob filled the galleries, and crowded all the avenues to the Hall. In the interval previous to the time fixed by the Decree that had been passed the day before, the Assembly resumed the debate upon which they had entered respecting the organization of juries in the courts of justice, and it lasted till two o'clock. The Abbé Grégoire, who had undertaken to convince and quiet the consciences of the Clergy, then ascended the tribune, and in the most canting tone advanced some assertions which would in fact have obviated several scruples, if the
Assembly,

Assembly, after warmly applauding them, had not refused to avow them formally by a Decree. “It is only necessary,” said he, “to understand one another; we all think alike. It is certain that the Assembly never intended to encroach on spiritual affairs. It is certain that these are out of their province; nobody will contradict this assertion. The Assembly have formally declared the principle, they have ever acknowledged it, they have ever applauded those who have professed it. They do not judge men’s consciences, or even require an inward assent; all they mean is, that we should swear obedience and fidelity to the law. My opinion therefore is, that the oath required need not alarm our consciences. Bound as I am by a fraternal union to my brethren the Priests, and by a most inviolable respect to our venerable superiors the Bishops, I beg that they will accept my explanation, and if I knew any mode more fraternal or more respectful of inviting them to admit it, I would make use of it.”

Mirabeau, who had declared on the 22d of December, that he should absent himself a month from the Assembly, nevertheless appeared

peared at this Sitting, and observed that the doctrine laid down by the Abbé Grégoire required to be expressed more clearly and simply ; that the Assembly had no right to force any person to take an oath ; that their powers were limited to declaring the refusal of an oath incompatible with particular functions, and to considering such a refusal as a resignation. He then inveighed in the most forcible manner against the unconstitutional and atrocious advertisement, which declared the Ecclesiastics who would not take the oath disturbers of the public tranquillity. “ The
“ Assembly,” said he, “ never did, and
“ never can permit such an advertisement.—
“ Those only are guilty, and disturbers of
“ public tranquillity, who, having sworn
“ submission to the law, do not obey it ; or
“ who, refusing to take the oath, persist in
“ the exercise of their functions. It is by
“ a strange mistake, then, that these papers
“ should have been stuck up. The justice
“ of the country should see reparation
“ made.”

M. Bailly, the chief of the Municipality, against whom these reproaches were levelled, answered, that being equally struck with the mistake, he had sent to the Keeper of the
Seals

Seals to ask an explanation of it; who thought that it had been committed in the office to which the Decrees are referred, and who had been extremely hurt at it; that the Minister had immediately corrected the copy of the Decree; that a second impression had been struck off, and was already pasted every where over the former

This explanation, however, did not prevent *M. Malouet* from insisting strongly on the necessity of discovering and punishing the authors of so serious a piece of treachery.

Barnave, impatient to see the Decree which he had urged the day before executed, did not oppose any of his arguments; but moved that before the discussion of any other subject was entered upon, the President should call upon the Ecclesiastical Functionaries, who held a seat in the Assembly, to take the oath conformably to the Decree; and that he should afterwards wait upon the King, to pray his Majesty to order elections, according to the forms of the Constitution, for filling up the Bishoprics and benefices vacant on default of taking the oath.

This motion was followed by debates on the question, whether the explanation given by the Abbé *Gregoire* should be inserted or
not

not on the Journals? as had been proposed by *Camus*, who afterwards withdrew his motion. The Abbé *Maury* and *M. Depresménil* repeatedly desired to speak, but they were constantly refused. All the amendments were rejected, and *Barnave's* motion decreed. The President in consequence acted as the Decree prescribed; and informed the Ecclesiastical Members that they were held bound to answer to the call of names which was going to be made.

The dead silence that followed, and which lasted for some minutes, was interrupted by the howlings of the brigands who surrounded the Hall. The cries of—*To the lantern! Away with the Nonjurors, to the lantern!* were distinctly heard. The Members of the *Coté-Droit*, transported with indignation, called upon the President to put an end to this tumult. He had already given orders to that effect, and *M. Bailly*, it was said, had gone to enforce them with the gentle influence of his popularity. But the influence of the Mayor was not more efficacious than the authority of the President, and it was amidst the sanguinary clamours of the populace that the call of names began; the Ecclesiastical Members, who had not as yet taken the oath,
being

being addressed alphabetically. The Bishop of *Agen* was named the first, and desired to speak. "No speaking," cried out several Members of the *Coté-Gauche*; "will you take the oath or not?" This violent summons being supported out of doors by redoubled vociferations, several Members of the *Coté-Droit* again remonstrated to the President: some of them declared that the Assembly were not free, and protested in the name of their constituents. The Bishop of *Agen* at length obtained a hearing. This was the first time that he had spoken in this Assembly, and his words will be immortal. "I feel no regret," said he, "for the loss of my preferment; I feel no regret for my fortune, but I should regret the loss of your esteem, which I am determined to deserve. I beg you then to believe that I feel great pain at not being able to take the oath you require."

This declaration, as bold as it was edifying, was received with repeated applauses by the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, but heard with rage by those of the *Coté-Gauche*.

The person next called, after the Bishop of *Agen*, was a Parish Priest of his diocese, *M. Fournès*, of *Puymarin*. "I will answer you,"

“ you,” said he, “ with the simplicity of the
“ primitive Christians, to which you wish
“ to bring us back, that I glory in following
“ my Bishop, as Saint Laurence did his
“ pastor.”

M. Le Clerc, a clergyman of the Diocese of Cambray, being the third called upon, had scarcely pronounced the words—“ I am
“ a member of the Apostolical Catholic
“ Church,” than he was interrupted by the most violent murmurs. “ The summons to
“ take the oath,” observed *Roederer*, “ ad-
“ mits no other answer than that of taking,
“ or of refusing to take it.” This observa-
tion being supported with violence by the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, the President declared that conformably to the Decree the Ecclesiastics, as they were called upon, should answer simply, “ I swear,” or “ I refuse.” “ This,” exclaimed *M. de Foucault*, “ is tyranny indeed: the very Em-
“ perors who persecuted the martyrs suffered
“ them to pronounce the name of God, and
“ to utter the testimonies of their fidelity to
“ Religion.”

It was but too probable that the fury of the Jacobins, thus defeated in their attempt, would proceed to the greatest excesses, and
that

that the list of this call of names would become a real list of proscription. This apprehension suggested the following motion to *M. de Bonnai*: “ I have not the honour,” said he, “ of being an Ecclesiastic, but still I think “ it my duty to observe that this call, which “ is begun, has not *been decreed by the “ Assembly*, and that this mode, so unnecessarily adopted by the President, may be attended with the most serious consequences. “ You know that a forgery has been committed in the proclamation of the Decree; “ and you have been told that this mistake “ was corrected: it was however too late, “ and not completely done. I have this very “ day seen similar proclamations stuck up, “ that have excited severe censures in the “ minds of the ill-disposed, which would “ expose the Clergy who do not take the “ oath to the most imminent danger, if their “ names were made known to the multitude. “ Several oaths have been individually taken, “ and the names of the Ecclesiastics who “ consented to it have been entered on the “ Journals. It only then remains to summon collectively to the tribune all public “ Ecclesiastical Functionaries, who are Members of the Assembly. This mode will

“ not be attended with the danger of the
“ call of names. The names of those who
“ shall take the oath may be inserted on the
“ Journals, and they whose names shall not
“ be found there may be considered as incur-
“ ring deprivation.”

The Members of the *Coté-Gauche* did not oppose this motion. They saw that although its object was to prevent horrible massacres, its effect would be to render the triumph of religion less solemn, and the defeat of the Jacobins less humiliating. The President, therefore, persisted no longer in the call of names, but addressing the public Ecclesiastical Functionaries, he called upon them collectively to ascend the tribune. A Curate, of the name of *Landrin*, was the only one who dared to take the oath conformably to the Decree. Two more offered to take it with the restrictions proposed by the Bishop of *Clermont*, but were refused. A third declaring that he was ready to swear in conformity to the sentiment of the Assembly, who had declared they did not mean to encroach upon spiritual concerns, the President answered him, that the Assembly had in fact decreed that in no circumstances whatever did they mean to controul spiritual af-
fairs ;

fairs ; an answer which the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, yielding to the first impulse, applauded, not suspecting the advantage which *M. de Cazalès* would draw from it. “ It is the duty of the President,” said he, “ to speak the will of the Assembly : I ask “ if that be really its will, and I move that “ they declare it positively,” The President embarrassed, made no reply, and there was a dead silence for a quarter of an hour. *M. de Cazalès* repeated his motion, but it was rejected by shouts of, “ To the Order of the “ Day ! to the Order of the Day !” These shouts were an appeal to religious heroism, and the Bishop of *Poitiers* ascended the tribune : “ Gentlemen,” said he, “ I am seventy years old, and have passed thirty- “ five in the Episcopacy, in which I have “ done my best to discharge my duty. “ Weighed down as I now am with years “ and infirmities, I will not dishonour my “ old age. I cannot take an oath against “ my conscience”——“ Say yes, or no,” cried the demoniacs of the *Coté-Gauche*. “ I prefer living in poverty, and will take “ my fate in the spirit of penitence.”

The animated applauses, and the no less honourable murmurs which this declaration

excited, were followed by an interval of silence of which *M. de Cazalès* took advantage to request again that the Assembly would declare formally by a Decree, either that it was not their intention to controul spiritual affairs, or that they would adopt the restriction proposed by the Bishop of *Clermont*, which tended exactly to the same end.

Mirabeau observed, that the question concerning spirituality had no object, and in no respect obviated the difficulty, which entirely consisted in determining what the dissenting Members called *spiritual*, and what the Assembly called *temporal*. *M. de Cazalès* persisted, but without success. The Abbé *Maury* ascended the tribune, but the Assembly decided that he should not be heard. At length the President, for the last time, called upon the public Ecclesiastical Functionaries to take the oath conformably to the Decree.

The Assembly waited in vain for some minutes the effect of this definitive call. No one presented himself; no Bishop, no Priest spoke, and all heard with a serenity above praise the Decree pronounced which was to complete their deprivation.

It had been settled by a Decree of the 24th of August 1790, that no person could be
1 elected

electd to a Bishopric unless he had previously discharged, for fifteen years at least, the functions of an Ecclesiastical Minister in the Dioceses, &c. and that to be eligible to a benefice it was also necessary to have exercised the duties of an Ecclesiastic for a given time within the rounds of the district. The execution of this Decree was incompatible with the replacing of all the Bishops of France except three *, and many thousands of Parish Priests and Curates suddenly, and at once. But this obstacle was removed by another Decree of the Assembly (on the 7th of January), which ordained, 1st, that with respect to the vacancies of Bishoprics during the year 1791, every French Priest, actually an incumbent, or who had acted in the capacity of public Functionary for the term of five years, should be eligible in any of the Departments; 2dly, that with respect to the vacancies of parish churches during the same year, every Frenchman who had been a Priest for the space of five years should also be eli-

* The Archbishop of *Sens*, the Bishop of *Orleans*, and the Bishop of *Autun*. The letter which the Bishop of *Autun* addressed to the Clergy of his Diocese, to engage them to follow his example, was published in all the Revolutionary Journals.—See Appendix, No. xii.

gible in all the Departments. The Ecclesiastical Committee was charged at the same time to present to the Assembly, as soon as possible, a plan of information respecting the civil constitution of the Clergy, to be sent to the Directories of the Departments, with an order to publish it throughout their jurisdiction, for the purpose of instructing the people, and of preventing the alarms which some men might spread on the fate of Religion.

M. de Montlosier proposed, with an air of pleasantry, that *Rabaud de St. Etienne* and *Barnave*, both of whom were Protestants, should be added to the Ecclesiastical Committee, to draw up this plan of information. But soon altering his tone, “ I do
“ not think,” said he, “ that the Bishops
“ can be forced to quit their Sees. If they
“ are driven from their episcopal palaces,
“ they will retire to the huts of the cottagers, who have fed upon their bounty.
“ If golden crosses be taken from them, they
“ will find wooden crosses ; it was a wooden
“ one that saved the world.”

Mirabeau, who was the author of this Decree, had also drawn up a plan of instruction, or address, which the Ecclesiastical Committee

Committee adopted on his recommendation, and which he read in the Sitting of the 14th of January. The reading of it, sometimes interrupted by the murmurs of the *Coté-Droit*, and much oftener by the applauses of the *Coté-Gauche*, lasted more than an hour*. This paper is the more remarkable, as to those who were ignorant of the purpose for which it was composed, it exhibited a very extraordinary medley of eloquence and quackery, of impiety and hypocrisy, of imposture and truth. But when the situation of *Mirabeau* at that period, his secret views, and the absolute necessity he was under of acquiring great popularity to attain his object, are understood; when it is known that his plan was to draw up this paper, so as to produce an effect equally contrary to the expectation of those whose enthusiasm it was intended to rouse, and to the apprehensions of those whom it was meant to irritate, it will be impossible to peruse this performance without finding in it the ability, profound art, and superior talents of its author. It depended on a trifle to have made the whole Assembly the dupes of it, and to have caused

* Appendix, No. xiii.

it to have been as enthusiastically adopted by them as it had been by the Ecclesiastical Committee. In fact, from the beginning of it to the end, it excited the liveliest applauses from the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, while it raised the most indignant murmurs among the *Coté-Droit*. *Camus* alone, less susceptible of enthusiasm than the other Members of his party, felt himself shocked at the glaring passages, and at some exaggerations pushed perhaps too far. “It is impossible to hear this,” he exclaimed with indignation; “it contains abominations that cannot coolly be heard: I move that it be adjourned, and sent back to the Ecclesiastical Committee, and that the Sitting should now terminate.” The effect which this address had upon *Camus* was a plain indication of that which it would have produced through the kingdom upon all the Catholics sincerely attached to Religion.

After a few moments of tumult and agitation, *Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely* observed, in justification of the Ecclesiastical Committee, “that it was possible that since the first reading of the address before them, some changes might have been made in it by the author.” *Mirabeau* enraged,

raged, replied: "It is false. I declare li-
"terally that since its second and third read-
"ing before the Committee, I have not
"changed a word, not a comma in my ad-
"dress; and for my own personal justifica-
"tion, I demand that the present form of
"this address be verified: it must be known.
"There is not a line, not an expression in it,
"for which I am not ready to answer with
"my life, and with my honour." He then
laid it upon the table, and it was signed and
counter-signed by the secretaries; but this did
not prevent the motion of *Camus* from being
adopted, supported as it was by all the Mem-
bers of the *Coté-Droit*, and by several of
those of the *Coté-Gauche*.

The new address was presented in the Sit-
ting of the 21st of January, in the name of
the Ecclesiastical Committee, and of the Com-
mittees of Alienation, Reports, and Inquiry,
who had united for the purpose of drawing
it up. The principles displayed and acknow-
ledged in it were nearly the same as those
proposed by the Clergy. "The representa-
"tives of the French people," it said,
"strongly attached to the religion of their
"forefathers, and to the Catholic Church,
" of

“ of which the *Pope* was the visible head
“ on earth, had placed in the first rank of
“ the expences of the State those attending
“ the maintenance of its ministers and of its
“ worship. They had respected its tenets
“ and secured the perpetuity of its instruc-
“ tion. Convinced that its doctrine and the
“ Catholic faith had their foundation in an
“ authority superior to that of man, they
“ knew that it was out of their power to
“ reach it, or to controul that authority
“ which was wholly spiritual: they knew
“ that God himself had established it, and
“ that he had confided it to the care of pas-
“ tors, whose duty it was to take the charge
“ of souls, to procure them those succours
“ which Religion secure to men, to perpe-
“ tuate the succession of its ministers, and
“ to enlighten and direct the conscience of
“ their fellow-creatures. But at the same
“ time that the National Assembly were pe-
“ netrated with these sublime truths, to
“ which they paid every homage whenever
“ they were mentioned in their Sitzings, yet
“ the Constitution for which the People had
“ called, required the promulgation of new
“ laws with respect to the civil organiza-
“ tion

“ tion of the Clergy, and it became necessary to fix its exterior relations with the political order of the State.”

But it was not sufficient to write down these truths, or to acknowledge that none of the objects which related to the authority of the Church, were in the cognizance of the Assembly; the business was to prove that the civil constitution of the Clergy did not encroach on the spiritual power, as every refusal to take the oath was founded upon this objection. The new address answered this only with subtilities and sophisms evidently insincere. This was what the Abbé *Maury* never ceased repeating and demonstrating, but he was interrupted at every sentence, and an attempt was made to prevent his speaking upon the pretence that he calumniated the Assembly, and that instead of giving his opinion on the address itself, he discussed the civil constitution of the Clergy. When the Abbé *Maury* attempted to refute these absurdities, a loud beat of drums near the Hall reduced him to silence; the address was then put to the vote and adopted.

In the following Sitzings these debates were renewed, on the measures proposed by the Committees to accelerate the execution of the

the Decrees relative to the taking of the oath, and to the replacing of those who should refuse it. The warmth and precipitation of the Assembly on this occasion involved them in many contradictions, and sometimes reduced them to the necessity of revoking Decrees they had passed only the day before, and which were incompatible with those already sanctioned. For instance, the Decree of the 27th of November, fixed the time for taking the oath by the Ecclesiastics out of the kingdom, at two months; that of the 18th of December relative to the Public Functionaries travelling or employed in foreign countries, allowed them but one month to take their civic oath, but it made no mention of the ministers of divine worship, and yet the Assembly decreed on the 26th of January, that after the expiration of the time granted by the decree of the 18th of December, the proceeding should be carried into effect for replacing the public Ecclesiastical Functionaries, who should not be present and residing in the kingdom, and who should not have taken their civic oath.

In this Sitting *M. de Cazalès* insisted with more energy than ever on the necessity of suspending the execution of the Decree of the

27th

27th of November. He foresaw and stated all its consequences, and the event has but too well justified his predictions. “ Would “ to Heaven,” said he, “ that these walls “ could expand and hold every individual of “ the Nation assembled. The people of “ France would hear us, they would judge “ between you and me. I tell you that a “ schism is preparing; I tell you that the “ whole body of the Bishops of France, and “ that the great majority of the inferior “ Clergy believe that the principles of Reli- “ gion forbid them to obey your Decrees, “ that this conviction grows stronger from “ contradiction, and that those principles “ are of an order superior to your laws; that “ expelling the Bishops from their sees, and “ the Priests from their parishes in order to “ overcome this resistance, is not the way to “ overcome it; you will be but at the com- “ mencement of the course of persecution “ that opens before you. Do you imagine “ that the Bishops expelled from their sees “ will not excommunicate those who shall “ be put in their places? Do you think “ that a great part of the faithful will not “ remain attached to their former pastors, “ and to the eternal precepts of the Church?

Then

“ Then comes schism ; religious disputes
“ commence ; then will the people doubt
“ the validity of the sacraments, and dread
“ to see flying from them that sublime Re-
“ ligion, which taking man up from his
“ cradle and accompanying him to his
“ grave, offers him the best consolation in
“ all the trials of life : then will the vic-
“ tims of the Revolution be multiplied, and
“ the Kingdom be divided. You will see
“ Catholics wandering over the surface of
“ the Empire, following their persecuted
“ Ministers into caverns and deserts. You
“ will see them in every part of the King-
“ dom reduced to that state of misery and
“ persecution into which the Huguenots
“ were plunged by the revocation of the
“ Edict of Nantz. If you would be sensi-
“ ble of the incalculable evils you will
“ bring upon your Country, or if you
“ wished to show your affection for the
“ Nation, you would take time, you would
“ wait for the approbation of the Church of
“ France. The question that divides us is
“ a vile question of form and pride. Why
“ should you fear to say that you have been
“ mistaken, when the execution of the civil
“ constitution of the Clergy may be the
“ con-

“ consequence of the acknowledgement?
 “ Why should you refuse to give up a De-
 “ cree, when you see that obstinately per-
 “ sisting will be your destruction, and that
 “ the Church of France has shown you the
 “ error into which you have fallen? From
 “ the murmurs that rise, I perceive that I
 “ am obliged to declare in my own name,
 “ and in that of my colleagues, that we will
 “ not take any part in this determination, that
 “ we will never abandon, but ever acknow-
 “ ledge for our worthy pastors those whom
 “ the Church has acknowledged.”

The Decree of the 26th of January had
 been proposed the day before, during the
 Evening Sitting, immediately after a Report
 had been made on the oath taken, with re-
 strictions by a Clergyman of the diocese of
 Amiens; and it was on that occasion that
Barnave violently denounced a club which
 had just been formed, under the title of
Friends of the Monarchical Constitution.
 Among its founders there were several of the
 Members of the Assembly, and particularly
 those, who having vainly attempted to form
 a third party in the Assembly under the title
 of *Independents*, had drawn upon themselves
 the censure of the other two, and chiefly
 that

that of the *Coté-Gauche*, against whose motions they always contended. Of this number were *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre* and *M. Malouet*. The title of this new club, the members who formed it, and the acts of public beneficence by which it soon began to render itself popular, greatly alarmed the Jacobins. “It is time,” exclaimed *Barnave* in his denunciation, “it is time to save the State from
“ the calamities to which its enemies would
“ deliver it, and from the horrors of a civil
“ war to which they would certainly conduct it. While some, regretting impious
“ abuses, support their credit with the sacred
“ name of Religion, another sect is rising.
“ They are votaries of the Monarchical
“ Constitution, and under that *Ægis*, cunningly contrived, the Factious are endeavouring to divide us, and to draw the
“ citizens into their snares by giving them
“ poisoned bread. The moment is not yet
“ ripe for opening to you the schemes of
“ this artful, perfidious, and factious association; but no doubt the Magistrates appointed to watch over the public tranquillity have taken proper precautions on the
“ occasion; no doubt the Committee of Inquiry will soon lay an information before
“ the

“ the Assembly of these anti-revolutionary
 “ proceedings ; of these distributions of
 “ bread at half price, destined to spread con-
 “ fusion among the People : no doubt they
 “ will denounce by name those who are not
 “ afraid to shew themselves the heads of
 “ this Faction ; but I thought it my duty
 “ to mention these circumstances to you,
 “ because it appeared evident to me that
 “ such audacity, such barefaced manœuvres
 “ in the face of the Revolution, and in a
 “ City which always defended it and ever
 “ will defend it, had a support and rested
 “ their hopes on the commotions and resist-
 “ ance intended to be produced by means of
 “ the Clergy’s refusing to take the oath.”

He thought, that in order to diminish the
 number of those who might refuse, it would
 be proper to begin, not with rigour against
 the inferior Clergy whose interest attached
 them to the new order of things, but with
 the deprivation of all the Bishops from one
 end of the Kingdom to the other, and those
 who were members of the Assembly should be
 held to be already superseded. These declama-
 tions which were applauded with rapture by the
 Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, shocked those
 of the *Coté-Droit*. In the midst of the tumult

occasioned by the conflict of applauses and murmurs, *M. Malouet* several times attempted to refute the charges brought against the club of the Friends of the Monarchical Constitution. He insisted that *Barnave* should lay his denunciation upon the table, that the Assembly should appoint a Court for the trial of the accused, and he denounced the club of the Jacobins and their manœuvres as the cause of all disorder; but he could obtain no attention, and was interrupted at every word by the clamours of the *Côté-Gauche*, and by the vociferations of the galleries. The tumult became so violent, that the President, to stop it, put the Decree proposed relative to the affair at Amiens to the vote, and broke up the Sitting.

With respect to the Decree of the 26th of January, as it regarded the public Ecclesiastical Functionaries absent from the Kingdom, it was repealed the next day; and that of the 27th of November, which granted a delay of two months for taking the oath, was adhered to. *Mirabeau* even proposed to include in this arrangement all the public Ecclesiastical Functionaries, whether present or absent. “An arrangement,” said he, “that will be both prudent and mild; for

“ mild it will be to treat the public func-
 “ tionaries who continue refractory to the
 “ Law, as if they were absent.”

The denunciation of the club of the Friends of the Monarchical Constitution was only a manifesto of the Jacobins. They allowed only an interval of six-and-thirty hours between this declaration of war and the commencement of hostilities. On the 27th of January, the house of *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre* was beset by the People. This seditious riot was denounced to the Assembly by *M. Malouet*; who, not without many urgent entreaties, prevailed upon the President to send immediate advice of it to the Municipality. *M. Bailly* repaired to the spot, and by his presence and exhortations, and particularly by the assistance of a detachment of the National Guard, saved *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre's* house from being plundered, and perhaps from being burnt. *M. de Clermont* arrived himself before the crowd was dispersed, and as soon as he was perceived ten or twelve voices cried out *To the lantern!* Happily however for him this cry was not supported by the majority, which was owing to the assurances given by *M. Bailly* of the purity of the intentions of

the club of the Friends of the Monarchical Constitution*.

This petty war against clubs or associations of Royalists, requiring only some popular mobs, and ending in the pillage or burning of some houses, and from time to time in the assassination of an Aristocrat, was no doubt unworthy the attention of the National Representation; therefore this portion of the revolutionary department was entirely left to the Jacobins. An object of greater importance at that time occupied the Assembly. Alarms had been spread and became almost general respecting the safety of the State from abroad. They were occasioned by the uneasiness expressed by several of the powers of Europe, the preparations which they seemed to be making, the persevering remonstrances of the Members of the German Empire who had possessions in Alsace, and by the movements of the French Emigrants. The Military and Diplomatic Committees, and Committee of Inquiry, who were charged to examine and propose measures best adapted to remove the

* On the 28th of March following the People went in a crowd to the Monarchical Club, and dispersed its members by pelting them with stones.

fears of the Nation, and to put the frontiers of the Kingdom in the most respectable state of defence, presented the result of their labours in the Sitting of the 28th of January. It was divided into two parts. The one related to military measures, and was the object of a report made by *Alexander de Lameth*: the other treated of political or diplomatic measures, which *Mirabeau* displayed in a very remarkable report. He examined and discussed the means and the situation of the different Powers of Europe: all of them, according to him, both wanted and desired peace. “ If the progress of our
“ Revolution,” said he, “ make our neighbours uneasy, their fear is itself a pledge
“ that they will not attempt to disturb us
“ by dangerous provocations. Are you
“ frightened at a few French Refugees and
“ some soldiers secretly enrolled? But has
“ not the hatred of such enemies exhaled
“ till now in empty menaces? Where are
“ their allies? What great Nation will espouse their cause, will furnish them with
“ arms and subsidies, will lavish upon them
“ the produce of its taxes and the blood of
“ its citizens? Is it England? What have
“ we to hope or to fear from the English
“ Ministry?

X 3

“ Ministry ? To establish from this mo-
“ ment grand foundations of an unalterable
“ amity between their Nation and ours
“ would be an act of virtuous and rare
“ policy : to wait events, to take measures
“ for acting a part, and perhaps for agitat-
“ ing Europe rather than be idle, would be
“ the business of mean politicians. Will
“ the English Ministry, having the choice
“ of these two courses, choose that which
“ will produce good without any noise, or
“ that which will be attended with noise
“ and mischief ? Perhaps the Factious,
“ who are waiting for some chances to exe-
“ cute, under the specious names of *Liberty*
“ and *Patriotism*, projects which are un-
“ known to us, hope to find them in a great
“ popular agitation ; but this struggle of
“ intrigue and ambition against a generous
“ and credulous patriotism is undoubtedly
“ also a war, &c. &c.”

The military measures proposed by the Committees consisted in completing all the regiments, in forming a war establishment of the National Guards, and an auxiliary army of one hundred thousand men, to be engaged for three years, on condition of joining the regiments for which they should be enrolled

rolled the moment they were called upon; and of these regiments thirty of foot and twenty of horse should be stationed throughout the frontiers on the side of Germany and Savoy*.

“ Our diplomatic measures,” cried *Mirabeau*, “ require that we henceforth employ
 “ for our external relations only such men
 “ as may not expose the French power by
 “ their doubts of our success; such as are
 “ not total strangers to the new language, of
 “ which they ought to be the organs; and
 “ not men who, whether from their ignorance of the regeneration of their country,
 “ or that their ancient prejudices are struggling against their duty, or that an inveterate habit of serving despotism will not
 “ allow them to rise to the elevation of a
 “ system of liberty, may be the mere agents

* The Assembly was at this time occupied with the organization of the Navy. The state of the naval forces of France, published in the month of January 1791, was as follows: 84 ships of the line, 10 of which were upon the stocks; 68 frigates, of which 6 were upon the stocks; 29 corvettes, 22 brigs, 14 pinks, and 16 lighters. The number of these vessels armed and ready to put to sea amounted to 21 ships of the line, 28 frigates, 8 corvettes, 11 brigs, 5 pinks, and 2 lighters.

“ of the Ministry, or the confidents of
“ aristocracy, instead of the representatives
“ of a spirited Nation.”

These two reports, and particularly that of *Mirabeau*, were loudly and repeatedly applauded, and the Decrees proposed by the Committees were adopted without debate.

The important part which *Mirabeau* acted in the Assembly, by his talents and his popularity, was not sufficient for his vanity. “ It is not enough,” said he, “ when one
“ starts in a course to be remarked in the
“ crowd ; a man should be conspicuous in
“ the foremost ranks, and obtain all that it
“ is possible to obtain.” He therefore wished to be appointed President of the Assembly ; and the more at this period, as whatever could make the slightest addition to his credit and consideration appeared to him useful to the plan which he was meditating. His wishes were gratified on the 29th of January, when the President announced that there appeared in the ballot for the nomination of his successor, a decided majority in favour of *Mirabeau*.

In the first Sitting at which he presided it was proposed, that the decree passed upon his report should be enforced against the Cardinal

nal *de Bernis*, the Ambaffador at Rome, who had sent his oath with restrictions. The Affembly, however, were unwilling to give this retrospective effect to Decrees of which the Cardinal could not have been informed, and contented themselves with fending back this oath, as infufficient, to the Minifter for Foreign Affairs. In the number of the oaths taken without restriction, and which the revolutionary journalifts were eager to publish, I fhall confine myfelf to mentioning as one of the moft scandalous, that of the principal profefors and mafters of the Univerfity of Paris.

They were not contented with fimply taking the oath; they wifhed to give to this difgraceful action, to which they had fubmitted from the fordid motive of preferving their places, the fame notoriety which all the Bifhops and thoufands of virtuous Clergymen had given to the courageous, the heroic refusal, by which they made a facrifice of their rank and fortune to Religion and their confcience. This corrupt Univerfity appeared without blufhing at the bar of the Affembly, where their Rector, *Dumouchel*, delivered the moft difguffing fpeech in favour of all the Decrees, and particularly of that

that which related to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. “We acknowledge,” said this apostate, or rather old dotard ; “that far
“from being the slightest infringement upon
“the holy Religion which we all profess,
“this wise Decree establishes it in its pri-
“mitive purity, renders it more august and
“venerable even in the eyes of its enemies,
“and more conformable to the spirit of the
“Gospel and to the precepts of its divine
“Author. We thought that it was not
“enough to confine these sentiments to our
“own bosoms, but that it was our duty, as
“instructors of the French youth, to de-
“clare them in this open and formal man-
“ner, in order to give our pupils an ex-
“ample of respect and of obedience.”

By this disgraceful conduct they lost many pupils ; but they preserved their places, and that was their grand object.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Mirabeau on good Terms with the Court—His Plan is approved by the King—The Means of executing it discussed with M. de Montmorin and M. Malouet—M. Malouet's Opinion—Mirabeau has secret Interviews with the King and Queen—Important Mysteries disclosed by him to their Majesties and M. de Montmorin—Origin of the System of Terror—The Duke de la Rochefoucault; his Character—Mirabeau displays the greatest Talents in the Office of President—Great uneasiness occasioned by the Departure of Mesdames, the King's Aunts—Motion concerning the Duties*

* MESDAMES is an appellation appropriated to the King's aunts, when mentioned collectively.

of the reigning Family—Movement among the Royalists in the Department of the Gard—A Letter of the Bishop of Uzès denounced to the Assembly—A Report spread that Monsieur and Madame intend to quit Paris—Riot—The King's Aunts being arrested at Arnay-le-Duc, write to the President—Mirabeau maintains that there is no Law against their Journey, and causes the Affair to be referred to the Executive Power—The People irritated go in a Croud to the Tuileries—Consecration of two Constitutional Bishops.

HERE opens one of the most interesting periods of the Revolution, and I may also say one of the least known; for very few were admitted into the secret of its most important circumstances; and the suspicions, the vague conjectures, the calumnies of ignorance, or of malignity, have only thickened the veil which still covers them, and which it is time to draw aside. It is a duty imposed upon me by the interests of truth, and of the memory of *Louis XVI.* who is accused by the Regicides of having corrupted *Mirabeau*, and purchased from him

him a plan of counter-revolution. I shall now then relate what I know, and what I can affirm, having received the most circumstantial information on the subject from *M. de Montmorin*; nor do I fear that what I assert will be contradicted by the four or five witnesses still remaining out of the small number of those who were acquainted with the facts *.

I dined at *M. de Montmorin's* on Saturday the 22d of January 1791, and remained there till nine o'clock in the evening. On opening the door of the hall to go home, I saw *Mirabeau* going out of the Minister's cabinet, and immediately stopped, not only to let him pass, but to try to discover what was the object of so extraordinary a visit. I went to *M. de Montmorin*: "What," said I to him, "do you
" also receive that man!"—"Yes, indeed;
" and I believe that you would receive him
" too, if the King had given you orders."—"The King has ordered you to receive *Mirabeau*!"—"He has, and I have already
" seen him several times."—"This is some
" new snare."—"No, quite the contrary."

* I am only permitted to mention the Archbishop of *Aix*, the Baron *de Gilliers*, and *M. Malouet*.

—But

“ —But can you put any confidence in such
“ a villain?”—“ Villain! He is not
“ perhaps so great a one as you believe him
“ to be.”—“ How! after that abominable
“ address which he proposed last week on
“ the civil constitution of the Clergy!”—
“ Yes, even after that: and how astonished
“ would you be were I to tell you that that
“ address, which gives you so much offence,
“ was calculated to produce a very important
“ effect, and that it is very unlucky it was
“ not adopted?”—“ I should be so astonish-
“ ed that I should not be able to believe it.”
“ —Yet you would be wrong, for nothing
“ is truer. Do you not know then that since
“ the month of June last, *Mirabeau* has at-
“ tached himself to the King, that he went
“ more than once to St. Cloud while the
“ Royal Family were there, and that he has
“ had some secret conferences with his Ma-
“ jesty? He suddenly broke them off when
“ the Judges of the Chatelet resumed the
“ proceedings on the crimes of the 6th of
“ October, and came to the Assembly to pro-
“ pose a Decree of accusation against him.
“ He imagined this to be a stroke of envy
“ and malice levelled at him by *La Fayette*,
“ on being informed of his interviews with
“ the

“ the King, and he believed that their Ma-
 “ jesties, intimidated by the General’s me-
 “ naces, or seduced by his promises, had been
 “ parties in the plot, or at least consented to
 “ it. He was afterwards positively assured
 “ that the King and Queen, far from taking
 “ any part in the matter, had not the slight-
 “ est knowledge of it, and he desired to re-
 “ new the negotiation of the month of June.
 “ Things are already in a good train.”—“ I
 “ know not a word of this : but after all, to
 “ what does it tend ? Has *Mirabeau* fur-
 “ nished a plan ?”—“ I cannot answer that
 “ question for some days. I should not
 “ even have said so much to-day if I was
 “ not so well assured of your discretion.”

In fact, it was not till towards the end of
 the month of February that I was informed
 by *M. de Montmorin* of the following par-
 ticulars.

Count *L.* an intimate friend of *Mirabeau’s*,
 had often spoken of him to the King and
 Queen as of a man easy to be brought back
 to monarchichal principles, provided that
 those of Public Liberty were not endangered.
 This was always made by him the essential
 condition of his conversion, or rather change
 of conduct ; for since the ranks, dignities and
 powers,

powers, which had been the objects of his ambition or of his envy, were annihilated, *Mirabeau* had ceased to be a Democrat. His democracy, like that of many others, consisted in lowering to his own level those who were above him, but not in raising to it those who were below him. He wished a Monarchy, and had he been made the Minister of one, he would soon have rendered it despotic. Be that as it may, their Majesties convinced that the talents, popularity, and energy of *Mirabeau* might save the State if he were willing to devote himself sincerely to it, charged the Count *de L.* to sound his real inclinations, which were found to be as favourable as could be desired. *Mirabeau* recollected the conference which he had had with *M. Malouet* in the month of May 1789, and threw upon the refusal of his first offers the blame of all the misconduct for which he was condemned, and which, he said, had led him much farther than he wished. He wrote a very eloquent and circumstantial letter to the King, in which he frankly confessed his errors, but without acknowledging his crimes. He spoke of new dangers, expatiated on the necessity of preventing them, and offered to point out the means. "But above all," said he

he in this letter, “ secure the true rights of
“ the Nation, especially its liberty, and you
“ will not want zealous servants to defend
“ the interests of your Crown, and those of
“ your sacred person. From this instant I
“ thoroughly devote myself to your Majesty’s
“ service; but I entreat you never to judge
“ of my sentiments or intentions by the opi-
“ nions of the moment, which I shall often
“ be obliged to support in order to preserve a
“ popularity, of which I ought to be care-
“ ful for the interest of the King, and which
“ I am anxious to render serviceable to him
“ alone. The same motive may also some-
“ times compel me to oppose your desires,
“ but I beseech your Majesty to deign to
“ confide in my fidelity; it is not to be
“ shaken, and I dare promise you that in one
“ year from this time the Royal Authority
“ shall be firmly re-established on its true
“ basis, and to such a degree, as shall en-
“ able the King always to do freely the
“ good his heart desires.”

The King and Queen were very well satis-
fied with this letter, and charged *M. de*
Montmorin to confer with *Mirabeau* con-
cerning his plans, and to assure him that his
Majesty not only would never retract the en-

gements which he had entered into, or the principles which he had avowed at the opening of the States-General; but that it had even always been his desire that the wishes expressed in the majority of the instructions to the Deputies should serve as the basis to the Constitution; and that his opinion was, that all that exceeded that measure was still more prejudicial to the people than to the Royal Authority.

These assurances, entirely conformable to the ideas of *Mirabeau*, and as positive as he could wish, were inserted in a letter which the King wrote to *M. de Montmorin*, and which he authorized him to communicate to *Mirabeau*.

“ This letter is perfectly sufficient,” said he, after having read it:—“ With so formal
“ a pledge of the King’s intentions, we may
“ hope to put an end to the Revolution. Be-
“ lieve me, Sir, and pray inform their Ma-
“ jesties that I will henceforth employ all
“ my influence, and all the means in my
“ power for that purpose.”

This conversation took place in the latter end of January 1791. It was at that period that *Mirabeau* composed the famous memorial, which was so much talked of, without
being

being known; for it was seen by few, and of those the three to whom I have referred are perhaps the only ones now living.

The first part of this memorial was a statement of the causes of the Revolution, and of the incidents which had given it an atrocious character. *Mirabeau* spoke with indignation of the composition of the Assembly, of the factions which divided the popular party, and of the faults of all the parties. He unveiled the projects of the Jacobins, their tendency to republicanism, to the annihilation of Religion and all social institutions, and to the subversion of all property; and he declared that from the first the want of address and inconsiderate resistance of the Aristocracy having entirely discredited the moderate men of that party, and consolidated the enormous power of the popular one, he had found it absolutely necessary to join the latter, in order hereafter to do some good, and in the mean time to prevent much mischief; and that to keep up his credit with this party, he had often been forced to yield to exaggerations, and even to extravagancies. In this manner did he justify the part which he had acted during the two first years.

His means were, 1st, The dissolution of
Y 2 the

the National Assembly, and the calling a new one at the request of the Provinces upon other grounds, and principally upon that of property.

2dly, A plan of Constitution, drawn up according to the wish of the majority of the instructions, and sanctioned by the King.

To insure the success of these means, he proposed, 1st, A coalition in the Assembly between the most prudent of the Royalists and the best of the *Coté-Gauche*. 2dly, A distribution of periodical papers in the capital, and in the provinces, to open the eyes of the people respecting the projects and manœuvres of the Factious, who were misleading them, and to show the fatal consequences which must result from them. 3dly, To send into the 83 Departments well-chosen Commissioners, ostensibly charged with the demarcation of the limits of the districts and cantons, and whose secret mission should be to procure uniform addresses for the calling of a new Assembly, and for the adoption of the constitutional grounds which should be proposed by the King.

Respecting these important facts, and this period, I have no original papers to cite: I have only the notes which I preserved concerning

cerning them. But these are exact, and I was so struck, so occupied at the time with all the circumstances, that I dare to warrant the accuracy of my memory ; declaring, nevertheless, that there are many omissions in my narrative, and that it gives but a general idea of *Mirabeau's* plan. This plan, profoundly considered, was stated in a memorial of about two hundred pages, of which the style, replete with eloquence and energy, was its least merit.

One of the most pointed passages of this work was the sketch of the general disorganization of society, of which the foundations, the religious and political principles were dissolved. *Mirabeau*, who had so greatly contributed to this subversion, appeared more alarmed at it than any body. “ I had not a doubt,” said he, “ when I
“ proposed the constitutional oath for the
“ Priests, that the people would declare for
“ them against us. This was perhaps the
“ only trial to be made to ascertain what
“ moral spring remained in the Nation ; but
“ there is no longer a hold on that side :
“ happily they are still attached through
“ taste and habit to the Monarchical Govern-
“ ment. We must make haste to save the

“ wrecks of it, before they are completely
“ dispersed.”

The King was extremely astonished on the reading of this memorial ; he could not conceive that he who spoke thus of the Revolution had so long been the most formidable revolutionist.—“ If *Mirabeau* is in earnest,” said his Majesty to *M. de Montmorin*, “ he
“ may doubtless repair a part of the mischief
“ he has done ; nevertheless I will not engage myself in any proceeding which may
“ produce a civil war. This memorial
“ ought to be maturely considered. Endeavour to collect the opinions of the most
“ sensible men in the Assembly, and inquire
“ which of them *Mirabeau* is disposed to
“ open his mind to.”

L. D. M. being very intimate with the Count *de L.* had already been informed, with *Mirabeau's* consent, of the memorial in question, and it was from him that *M. de Montmorin* learnt on this occasion that, as *M. Malouet* was the only Deputy of the *Coté-Droit* to whom *Mirabeau* had ever, from the commencement of the Assembly, made proposals similar to his present intentions, the latter particularly desired to have a new explanation with him on the subject.

It

It was agreed that this explanation should take place at *M. de Montmorin's*, and in his presence, should *M. Malouet* consent to meet *Mirabeau* there, which was the more uncertain, as they had not spoken to each other since the month of June 1789.

On the 1st of February, at the Evening Sitting, *Mirabeau* having incorrectly stated, and turned into an amendment some observations made by *M. Malouet* upon a report of *Barnave*, relative to sending Commissioners to the Colonies, a slight altercation as to form took place between them, in which *Mirabeau* spoke with a little pedantry, and *M. Malouet* with a degree of ill-humour. The debate was closed, and all the articles of the Decree proposed by the reporter were adopted. After which *Mirabeau* took up a pen and wrote a note, which he sent unsealed to *M. Malouet* by one of the messengers, whom he called to him, and in the presence of the secretaries who were by him. *M. Malouet*, who had not been apprised of any thing, was very much astonished at this message. He made no more mystery in reading the note than *Mirabeau* had done in sending it, and permitted *M. de Clermont-Tonnerre* and

M. de Virieux, who were sitting by him, to read it with him.

This note ran thus : “ I am more of your
“ opinion than you think, and whatever may
“ be your sentiments with respect to me,
“ mine have never varied respecting you. It
“ is time that men of sense should unite,
“ and understand each other. Would you
“ have any objection to meet me at one of
“ your friends—at *M. de Montmorin's*?
“ Appoint the day, but let it be after the
“ Evening Sitting.”

M. Malouet answered upon a card : *With
all my heart. Thursday at ten in the
evening.* He suspected, as did his two
friends, that *Mirabeau* had some secret
understanding with the Palace. His conduct
in the Assembly for more than a month past
left no doubt of his having some grand pro-
ject ; but the Count *de Virieux*, who was a
very religious man, detested *Mirabeau* on
account of his immorality, and repelled the
idea of having any intercourse with him.
M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, on the contrary,
was rejoiced at this reconciliation, and con-
ceived great hopes from it. *M. Malouet*
made them promise the greatest secrecy re-
specting

specting the conference he was to have at *M. de Montmorin's*, and said he would inform them of the result. He went the next day to the Minister's, who, for the first time, entrusted him with the circumstances which I have already mentioned, relative to the conversion of *Mirabeau*, and gave him his memorial, advising him to read it before the meeting, which was to take place the following day.

This pathetic exposition of all the crimes of the Revolution, and their dreadful consequences, drawn by the hand of *Mirabeau*, which *M. Malouet* thought he still saw stained with the blood of the victims of the Revolution, made the most lively impression upon him. "This man," said he to me, "is master of all styles, and may be fit to act all characters. *Fenelon*, *Machiavel*, *Rousseau*, and the *Abbé Maury* might all of them find their maxims in his work, and yet there is a consistency in his views; but I am not entirely satisfied with his means."

On the next day, *M. Malouet* and *Mirabeau* met at *M. de Montmorin's* at the appointed hour. *Mirabeau* opened the conference with a long apologetic detail of his whole

whole revolutionary conduct. It was difficult to reconcile this apology with the opinions he had hitherto professed, and *M. Malouet* several times mentioned it to him. “My
“ principal opinions,” answered *Mirabeau*,
“ may all be applied to the true principles
“ and interests of the Monarchy. I cer-
“ tainly do not mean to justify extravagant
“ measures, which it was necessary to sup-
“ port, that I might not have the mob
“ against me ; nor violent commotions which
“ were designedly excited, and which have
“ often rendered me more mischievous than
“ I wished to be. Recollect what happened
“ to me when the Hotel de Castries was set
“ on fire.—There lies the secret of many of
“ my motions.”

The discussion of the plan, and the means of putting it into execution, being the chief object of this conference, engaged *M. Malouet's* whole attention. He did not think that the dissolution of the Assembly could be effected easily, and without commotion.—
“ Perhaps it might be easier,” said he to *Mirabeau*, “ to bring back the majority of
“ them to salutary views, and to amend-
“ ments, which would secure the Royal
“ Authority, and give energy to the Go-
“ vernment.

“ vernment. I see but one expedient to
 “ this effect, which enters into the spirit
 “ of your plan, and which alone can pro-
 “ duce the most salutary effects. You
 “ allow that the Decree which annuls our
 “ mandates has rendered the Assembly de-
 “ spotic by permitting them to dare every
 “ thing. I do not dispute the inconveni-
 “ ence of confining each deputation by an
 “ imperative mandate; but the Nation in
 “ all its subdivisions having thus explained
 “ its will freely and legally at a time when
 “ it was indisputable that the love of liberty
 “ reigned in every heart, I know not any
 “ human power that has a right to destroy
 “ it. Your friend, the Bishop of *Autun*,
 “ by his motion respecting the mandates,
 “ and by the success which it obtained, has
 “ committed an unpardonable fault, and it
 “ has been the source of every mischief. In
 “ future imperative mandates might have
 “ been forbidden: in fact, I well know that
 “ the representative system in its plenitude
 “ will not allow of such, and that they are
 “ proscribed in England. There the people
 “ give no mandates, and if any Constituents
 “ were to give them to their Representa-
 “ tives, the Parliament would have a right
 “ to

“ to annul them ; but that would not be
“ the case if the whole nation had ex-
“ plained itself by mandates, if that had al-
“ ways been the custom, and if its intention
“ was thus to leave to the Sovereign the
“ necessary right of reconciling and rectify-
“ ing what might be inconsistent in the
“ different mandates. Now the history of
“ our States-General contains no precedent
“ but of a delegation thus circumscribed.
“ Such was ours, and by declaring it unli-
“ mited we have in reality committed trea-
“ son against the Nation. Do we not say
“ every day that we are sent to settle the
“ Constitution ; that such is the view of
“ our mandates ; how then can we destroy
“ that which they order us to respect ?
“ Never was national will more legally or
“ more solemnly declared. Every thing
“ was foreseen, detailed, and explained in
“ the majority of the instructions ; and at
“ whatever period we seek to put an end to
“ the Revolution, if we would disengage our-
“ selves from it, if we hope a rational issue
“ to this terrible confusion, it is in that
“ public and undeniable deposit of all the
“ opinions and wishes of the whole of
“ France that it must be sought. Now,
“ with

“ with your good intentions and influence,
“ what may we hope from you in effecting
“ a repeal of the Decree which annulled our
“ mandates, and in replacing the Assembly
“ under the obligations which they impose
“ upon us ? For except by that I have no idea
“ of the possibility of a solid and legal Coun-
“ ter-Revolution.”

M. de Montmorin supported this opinion as being also that of the King. “ I never
“ perceived,” said he, “ that his Majesty
“ varied on this point : his intention, his
“ unshaken resolution, has ever been to yield
“ to every legal wish of the Nation.” *Mi-
rabeau* strenuously defended the opinion of
the Bishop of *Autun* : he contended that the
unfettering of the mandates was an indispen-
sable preliminary in the Constitution ; that
various and imperative instructions would
incessantly shackle all deliberation whatso-
ever ; that if this obstacle had not been re-
moved, the want of power and the absolute
nullity to which the Assembly would have
been reduced, would have compelled them to
separate without having done any thing.
However, as *M. de Montmorin* and *M. Ma-
louet* always brought him back to the exist-
ing state of things, and to the evil already
done

done by this constituent omnipotence, he agreed that *M. Malouet's* objections and propositions deserved the most serious consideration, and that it was necessary to attend to them: he said that he would himself talk the matter over with his friends, and that it was a further motive for endeavouring to produce the projected coalition in the Assembly; that it was necessary to assemble fifteen Deputies chosen from the *Coté-Droit*, and as many from the *Coté-Gauche*, to settle definitively a plan of conduct; that in the meanwhile, and as soon as his office of President was at an end, he would on the first occasion make a motion concerning the present state of the kingdom, in which he would assert his principles and his determined separation from all the factions.

M. de Montmorin and *M. Malouet* both wrote what had passed in this conference in order to lay it before the King; and as these two writings were communicated to me at the time, the reader will not be astonished at the precise manner in which I have here related the conversation, and which, previous to publishing it, I have communicated to *M. Malouet*.

Mirabeau, who even before the opening
of

of the States-General had settled his place at the head of the most violent factions, was also initiated into the secret of the secondary ones, who, with plans less extensive and a conduct more timid, did not the less concur to strengthen and accelerate the Revolution. All these mysteries, the knowledge of which afforded a key to many important events hitherto attributed to chance, were disclosed not only to *M. de Montmorin*, but also to the King and Queen in many secret conversations which their Majesties had with *Mirabeau*. He informed them amongst other things, that the system of terror which really effected the Revolution, and which had not since been abandoned, originated in the philanthropic faction, the Committee of which was held sometimes at the Duke *de la Rochefoucault's*, and sometimes at the Duke *d'Aumont's* villa near Versailles. At the period of the union of the orders these philosophic revolutionists, who at first intended only reforms, were as much embarrassed as astonished, at the rapidity of their success; they found themselves engaged in a great Revolution of which they had not conceived an idea, and before which their petty projects were but insignificant fooleries. The enter-
prize

prize frightened them: all the powers and authorities were at their discretion. They neither knew what to take from the King nor what to leave him, nor what government to establish; they feared the resistance of the Princes, the opposition of the two first orders, and the succours with which foreign Powers might furnish the King. *Adrien du Port*, who, of all the Members of the Assembly, was perhaps the man who had the most studied the history and the tactics of all Revolutions ancient and modern, was admitted into the most secret conventicles of this philosophic faction, and was employed to digest the plans. He read on this occasion a memorial in which he drew the characters, and discussed the interests of all the Sovereigns of Europe, in such a manner as to conclude that none of them would interfere in the least in the Revolution about to take place in France, and of which it was as necessary as urgent to regulate the course and determine the end by a plan wisely combined. He then proposed that which he said had been long the object of his meditations. Its principal grounds were the same as those which were adopted in the Constitution of 1791. After long discussions upon this

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this

this memorial *M. de la Fayette*, who was also present at that Committee, if we may believe *Mirabeau*, rose and said to *Adrien du Port*, “Doubtless this is a very grand
“ plan, but what are your means of putting
“ it in execution? Do you know such as
“ are capable of overcoming all the resist-
“ ances which are to be expected? You have
“ not pointed out any.”—“It is true that I
“ have not yet spoken of any,” replied *Adrien du Port* with a deep sigh; “I have
“ reflected much upon the subject; I know
“ sure ones, but they are of such a nature
“ that I shudder myself to think of them,
“ and I cannot resolve to disclose them to
“ you till you approve the whole of my
“ plan, till you are fully convinced that it
“ is indispensable to adopt it, and that no
“ other can be followed to secure not only
“ the success of the Revolution, but the
“ safety of the State.”

After the Committee, whose curiosity he had thus excited, had given him all the assurances and all the praises he wished, he still feigned a reluctance to explain himself. “I shall never dare,” replied he in the most hypocritical tone, “to propose means
“ which will shock your humanity. Alas!

“ they torture my own feelings, yet if you
“ absolutely require it.”—“ Yes, yes, we do
“ require it,” answered his hearers.—“ Well,
“ Gentlemen, I will obey you. To judge
“ of the means I am going to mention, you
“ must not lose sight for a single instant of
“ the dreadful situation in which we stand.
“ Unforeseen events have plunged us in
“ spite of ourselves into a Revolution which
“ will produce the greatest calamities, the
“ greatest crimes, and which will involve
“ us all, if we do not hasten to make our-
“ selves masters of it in order to moderate
“ and circumscribe it; it is too far ad-
“ vanced for us to make it recede. Besides,
“ it would be perhaps losing for ever the
“ opportunity of effecting the most advan-
“ tageous reforms. Now it is only by the
“ means of terror that men place themselves
“ at the head of a Revolution so as to
“ govern it. There has not been a single
“ one in any country whatever which I
“ could not cite in support of this truth.
“ We must then, whatever repugnance we
“ may feel to it, consent to the sacrifice
“ of some marked persons.” He con-
vinced them presently that *M. Foulon* must
naturally be the first victim; “ because
“ for

“ for some time past,” said he, “ he has
 “ been much spoken of for the office of
 “ Minister of the Finances, and every body
 “ thinks that his first measure would be
 “ *bankruptcy*.” He next pointed out the
 Intendant of Paris, “ There is a general
 “ cry,” said he, “ against the Intendants ;
 “ they have it in their power to fetter the
 “ Revolution in the provinces. *M. Ber-*
 “ *thier* is generally detested ; there is no
 “ preventing his being massacred : his fate
 “ will intimidate the other Intendants ; they
 “ will be as pliable as gloves.”

The Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, a philanthropist through inclination more than vanity, a man without talents, but not without some information, always wishing to do good from principle without being capable of doing it, and ever yielding to evil from a weak and complying temper, from an absolute want of all kind of energy, the ‘Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, I say, was very much struck with the observations of *Adrien du Port*, and with all the other Members of the Committee, decided upon adopting the plan and the means of execution proposed by him. Instructions conformable to this plan were given to the principal agents of the depart-

ment of insurrection which was already organized, and to which *Adrien du Port* was no stranger: execution followed close. The massacre of *de Launay*, *de Flesselles*, *Foulon*, and *Berthier*, and the carrying of their heads about on pikes were the first effects of this *philanthropic* conspiracy. Its success soon rallied and kept together for a long time the different revolutionary parties, who were beginning to distrust each other, but who seeing all the obstacles removed by this horrible measure, united to gather the fruits of it. In support of this account I can refer to no other proof or authority than the avowal made to the King and to *M. de Montmorin* by *Mirabeau*, who related this anecdote to other persons, and particularly to the President *de Frondeville*.

What I have said of *Mirabeau's* plan and of his return to Monarchial Principles is enough to account for the change remarked in his conduct from the end of the month of December preceding. It is not less interesting to know the manner in which he filled the new character which he had assumed. He had been ambitious to be President in order to turn to the advantage of his popularity, all
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they are all connected with the manners of the citizens, and with the general education which improves the association of men into a rational unity. Music has long led armies to victory ; from camps it passed to temples, from temples to the palaces of Kings, from palaces to our theatres, from our theatres to our civic festivals, and perhaps it bestows on the first laws of new Communities all the empire they possess. This art, founded on the regularity of the motions perceptible in all the parts of the creation, but particularly in animated beings, among whom every thing is executed with rhythm, and whose inclination to melody appears in all their tastes, this art is but an imitation of the harmony of nature, and when it unfolds the passions it imitates the human heart, which the Legislature ought also to study in this point of view ; for there, no doubt, are found the motives of all social institutions."

A Deputation of the Municipality of Paris having come to the Assembly to state the distress and absolute penury to which their finances were reduced by the immense expences they had entered into for the Revolution, *Mirabeau* very dexterously introduced into his answer an expression which,
with-

without betraying his present projects might be of use in preparing the minds of men for them. A few plaudits might suffice to produce that effect, and to obtain them *Mirabeau* had only to desire them; he excited very lively ones when he addressed the following remarkable words to the Deputation of the Municipality: “Do not be alarmed at the weight of your debts; it is an advance you have made to liberty. You have sown on a fertile soil, which will make you an ample return of all the wealth you have confided to it. One source of prosperity, and one only, is yet wanting for the capital; that is, the union of its citizens, and, above all, public tranquillity, which is incessantly disturbed by false alarms, and which a number of intriguing and ambitious men take upon them to endanger that they may have an opportunity of standing forth as moderators. This is the despotism of vice; that despotism is it then the only one which the city of Paris could not overthrow?”

It was remarked that the Deputations were much more frequent while *Mirabeau* was President than they had been under his predecessors. He never put any of them off; but it was not merely to increase his popu-

larity, or display his talents that he admitted so many ; it was also to consume the time of the Assembly, and that he might avoid bringing on any important question in which the part of a Speaker would be more desirable than that of President.

The last day he occupied the Chair, a Deputation of the Commune of Paris appeared, and informed the Assembly of the uneasiness and agitation excited in the capital by the intended departure of the King's aunts (*Mesdames*) for Italy, which had been officially announced by *M de Lessart*, as fixed for some day between the 15th and 25th of February. The object of this Deputation was to demand *a law to settle the particular mode of existence of the reigning family and all its branches**. The Speaker, after declaiming most violently against the Emigrants, concludes his harangue thus :

“ Think of the King, who is a model for all the kings of the earth ; who, with a powerful hand, broke the chains of America, and who has allowed all nations the free and peaceful navigation of the ocean—

* The words of this demand in the original are, *une loi qui fixe le mode particulier d'existence de la Dynastie Régnante.*

that king, the friend of your decrees, does not think himself at liberty to detain his family. Will you suffer his heart to be a prey to fears while waiting for your law? Will you suffer the affections due to him to be withdrawn, and let him be punished for rendering us happy?"

This step of the Commune's placed *Mirabeau* between two rocks, that of endangering his popularity, and that of giving the King room to suspect the sincerity of his conversion. He very adroitly avoided both by his answer to the Deputation: "What you have now proposed to the Constituent Body," said he, "is one of the most important questions which they have to take under their consideration. To be independent of every other power but that of the laws is the right of every citizen, because that independence constitutes the very liberty of a nation. Whoever has the right of resisting ought to know where the duty of obedience terminates. To this principle we all owe our safety. But there may doubtless be exceptions to the most general rules. The Royal Family are inseparable from the Throne, and were the Members of that Family to dare to oppose the laws, they might perhaps be easily ruled by
their

their Chief, who, by transmitting great hopes to them, has a right to impose upon them great duties. Fear not that the Monarch who repairs the errors of Kings can be forsaken, be the conduct of those about him what it may. A great nation is become his family. His name, joined with that of the Nation and of the Law, is pronounced in all our oaths, and a lasting order will proclaim at once his happiness and his power."

Still, however, the intended journey of the King's Aunts continued the subject of discussion in the Jacobin Club, and of the motions and vociferations of the *Palais-Royal* groups. The fermentation of the populace and workmen of the Fauxbourgs soon became so violent as to make them adopt the resolution, which they did on the 19th of February, of sending a deputation, or rather mob, on the next day to *Bellevue*, to extort a promise from the Princesses that they would not leave the kingdom. They were fortunately informed of this immediately, and set out that very night at ten o'clock.

This news occasioned great agitation in the capital. *Barnave* made use of the opportunity to insist with the greatest insolence upon the Assembly's immediately taking into consideration

consideration a law to determine the particular obligations of the Members of the Royal Family. “It is already rumoured,” said he, “that another person, whose conduct might lead to the most serious consequences, is preparing to follow the example of the King’s Aunts. Let the grounds for these reports be what they may, the citizens are alarmed at them, and the public tranquillity may be disturbed. Surely at a critical moment when the Nation, experiencing a Revolution which is to regenerate it, calls for the assistance of all who are intrusted in maintaining its glory and prosperity, it is astonishing that the Members of a Family which it has loaded with kindness should almost all forsake the public cause, and give you grounds to consider them as amongst the most dangerous adversaries of the Constitution it has chosen. It is time to declare the duties of those, of whom we have hitherto only declared the honours and the emoluments. We should now know what engagements are to correspond to that which settles in a family the supreme honours and sole hereditary magistracy, and whether the stripping us at home, the carrying of our cash abroad at a moment of the most pressing need, uneasiness

nefs fomented and kept up amongst the citizens, the encouragement of the public enemies, and the prolongation of their resistance, will for ever be their work, and the only testimony of confidence we can obtain from them."

This motion, supported by several Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, produced a great agitation in the Assembly, and was followed by a Decree, by which the Committee of the Constitution were charged to present without delay a plan for a Decree on the obligations which ought to be laid upon the Members of the reigning Family, and at the same time to take into consideration whether, at critical junctures, the citizens may be prevented from leaving the kingdom.

At this moment of effervescence, letters were received from the Department of the Gard, informing the Assembly that the most alarming counter-revolutionary commotions had broken out in the town and diocese of Uzés; that 1700 rebels had made themselves masters of the town of *St. Ambroix*, and had disarmed all the citizens; that the National Guards of Jalés, Banes, Berias, and other places, had joined to support the rebellion; that an army of 30,000 men threatened

ened the Department ; that at Uzés a squadron of the regiment of Lorraine having been called upon to mount their horses to disperse a mob, which had gathered at the sound of the alarm-bell on the Esplanade, the mutineers had fired upon the troop ; that one of the dragoons had had his shoulder broken, and that another had been run through the body with a bayonet. The Reporter (*Vouland*) imputed these troubles to the inflammatory writings sent from Paris, and chiefly to a letter written by *M. de Bethizy*, Bishop of Uzés, to his Grand Vicars, who had circulated it profusely *. This letter, written immediately after the famous Sitting of the 4th of January, gave an exact account of the most interesting particulars. The Deputy who denounced it having said that he had a copy of it, several Members desired that it might be read. Every sentence of it was followed by applause, and the words *That is true, that is true*, were repeatedly heard. These attestations and applauses, which came from the *Coté-Droit*, embarrassed as well as provoked the Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, and enraged the patriots of the Galleries.

* Appendix, No. xiv.

Out of doors, and among the groups, they talked of cutting off the Bishop of *Uzés's* head, and of hanging him at the lantern. It was fortunate for him that he had staid at home that day; for had he been in the Assembly, he certainly could not have left it without great danger. The patriots in their stupid rage had absolutely resolved to pillage or burn the *Hotel d'Uzés*, supposing it to be an appertenance of the Bishopric, and it was with difficulty they were made to understand that the Duke *d'Uzés* and the Bishop *d'Uzés* were not the same person. As to the Assembly, they contented themselves with decreeing that a sufficient force should be sent without delay into the Department of the Gard to restore order, and that all the papers relative to this affair should be sent to the Committee of Inquiry to make a report of them the next day at the opening of the Sitting. In this report no mention was made of the Bishop of *Uzés*, nor of his letter. The Committee only proposed to send with the troops five Commissioners, to be appointed by the King, and authorised to concert with the Magistrates of the Department of the Gard, and of the neighbouring Departments, to take whatever measures they should judge

judge

judge proper to suppress disorder, and insure the execution of the laws.

On the day that this Decree was passed, it was rumoured that MONSIEUR, the King's Brother, also intended to leave Paris, accompanied by MADAME. It was to this Prince *Barnave* alluded in his motion. An immense mob, chiefly composed of women, set out for the Luxemburg, and a large detachment of them, after some slight resistance, made their way into the Palace, and were introduced into MONSIEUR's apartments, where they expressed the uneasiness of the people, and solicited him not to go away. MONSIEUR declared to them that it never had been his intention to separate himself from the King, and that he never would quit his Majesty. So solemn an assurance excited the liveliest acclamations of joy; and MONSIEUR immediately setting out with MADAME to go to the Tuileries, was accompanied thither by the whole mob.

While the courts and garden of the Tuileries resounded with the shouts of the multitude, and the National Guards were marching by companies to the Palace to keep the peace, a letter from the Municipal Officers of Moret, a little borough a few miles beyond

yond Fontainebleau, was received by the Assembly, informing them that the King's Aunts having arrived there on the 20th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the Municipality had called upon the National Guards to prevent their proceeding without passports, and had ordered the gates of the town to be shut; but that thirty-three dragoons or chasseurs of the regiment of Lorraine, who attended their Royal Highnesses, having rode to the gates sword in hand, had caused them to be opened while the passports were examined, and that *Mesdames* had continued their journey. The passports counter-signed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the troopers acting without a requisition, were considered by the Members of the *Coté-Gauche* as manifest violations of the Constitution. They moved that the letter, or minute of the Municipality of Moret should be referred to the Military Committee, and to the Committees of the Constitution and of Inquiry, in order that an account of it might be immediately laid before the Assembly, which was accordingly decreed. *Chapelier* then made a report in the name of the Committee of the Constitution relative to the particular obligations of the Royal Family, and proposed

proposed a plan for a Decree. The Assembly ordered them both to be printed, and adjourned the debate.

In the next Sitting the Assembly received a letter from the Minister of War, in which he declared that he had given no orders to the Chasseurs of Lorraine*, and that he had no part in their conduct at Morel. It was observed that it was not probable that those soldiers would have marched without orders; that the officer, whoever he was who had given that order, was guilty, and that he was the person to be enquired for. It was accordingly moved to refer the Minister's letter to the Committee of Inquiry. *Mirabeau* contended that the reference already made of this business to the three united Committees was sufficient to authorise them to inquire by whom the order in question was given. "There is no need for an order on such occasions," cried *M. de Montlosier*. "I am convinced that every brave soldier attached to the King and Royal Family would be eager to show marks of respect and fidelity

* They were not the Chasseurs of Lorraine, but those of Hainaut, who escorted the King's Aunts to Morel, and who caused the gates of the town to be opened for them.

to his Majesty's Aunts. I therefore move the previous question; and if that be not agreed to, I shall move a vote of thanks and esteem to the troops of the line."—*Such is the character of the FRENCH CHEVALIERS*; but as unfortunately they had not the majority in the Assembly, the motion for the order of the day made by *Mirabeau* was carried.

This had scarcely taken place when the President read a letter to the Assembly which he had just received from *M. de Lessart*, accompanied with a minute of the Commune of Arnay-le-Duc, where the King's Aunts were stopped by the people, and with a letter from their Royal Highnesses addressed to the President of the Assembly. The substance of the Minister's letter was, that the King considered the obstacles experienced by his Aunts as an infringement on the liberty of citizens; and as it was his Majesty's part to protect equally the liberty of all, he desired that the National Assembly would remove the doubts upon which the Commune of Arnay-le-Duc had proceeded.

The letter from the King's Aunts expressed the same desire, but in terms so constitutional, that it was not doubted that in writing it

it they had suffered themselves to be guided by the advice of Count *Louis de Narbonne, Chevalier d'Honneur* to Madame *Adelaïde*. It was even generally thought that his style appeared in the following passage: *Being according to the law only citizens, and wishing to be considered only as such, we did not think it right to pretend to any kind of distinction. But the title of citizens gives us the right of all citizens, which we claim with the whole force of liberty, and with confidence in the justice of the Assembly.*

It appeared by the minute that the Municipality having examined their Royal Highnesses' passports, had agreed that they might continue their journey; but that the people had collected and opposed it, declaring that they would investigate the business; that in consequence the Municipality, with the addition of 138 of the inhabitants, had taken the matter into consideration, and had resolved that it should be referred to the Department; and that in the mean time, instead of giving their Royal Highnesses the post-horses they required, they should have a guard for their safety, and to prevent their being molested.

The reading of this was followed by long debates. The Abbé *Maury* strongly insisted on the necessity of solemnly disapproving the anti-constitutional insurrection of the Commune of Arnay-le-Duc, which was also the opinion of some Members of the *Coté-Gauche*. *Mirabeau* proposed the following Decree: “The National Assembly, considering that there was no law of the kingdom by which the King’s Aunts were restrained from the freedom of travelling, declare that there are no grounds to deliberate upon the minute of the Commune of Arnay-le-Duc, and refer the business to the Executive Power.”

The majority of the *Coté-Gauche* broke out into the most violent murmurs, and appealed to the supreme law of the safety of the people against the journey of the King’s Aunts. “The safety of the people,” replied *Mirabeau* haughtily, “is above all things concerned in there being no struggling for opinions when the public welfare requires a perfect unity of actions and will. The public safety is not concerned about the sleeping of the King’s Aunts three or four days more or less upon the road. Their journey is perhaps imprudent

dent, impolitic, but is no breach of the law."

Alexander Lameth, seconded by his brother and *Barnave*, proposed several times that without permitting any obstacle to be given to the journey of the King's Aunts, the President should be charged to entreat his Majesty to weigh it in his mind whether he ought, under the present circumstances, to permit his Aunts to leave the kingdom.

"Europe will be very much astonished," said *M. Menou* facetiously, "to hear that the National Assembly spent four hours in discussing the departure of two ladies, who prefer hearing mass at Rome to hearing it at Paris." This observation was extremely applauded, and gained the majority of the Assembly for the Decree moved by *Mirabeau*.

The Jacobins did not submit to be overcome. In the evening their agents collected an immense mob, whom they led to the Tuileries, to demand from the King himself an order to prevent his Aunts from effecting their purpose of leaving France. On the approach of this multitude, the iron gates and the doors of the palace were shut. The Mayor and Municipal Officers attended, and

exhausted their eloquence in vain to prevail upon the populace to disperse. At six o'clock the crowd in the garden being considerably increased, a numerous detachment of the National Guard was marched in, who dividing the mob, and pressing them towards the different outlets, succeeded in clearing the garden. At eight all was nearly quiet, but the streets were lighted up the whole night through.

There is yet to be added to the scandals of this day the pretended consecration of the would-be Constitutional Bishops of the Departments of Finisterre and Laine (the Abbés *Expilly* and *Marolles*). This sacrilegious act was consummated in the chapel of the Oratoire by the Bishop of *Autun*, assisted by the Bishops, *in partibus*, of *Lydda* and *Babilone*.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Report of the Committee of Constitution on the Obligations of the Members of the Reigning Family, and of the Public Functionaries—This Appellation given to the King, strongly opposed in the Assembly—Eloquent Speeches of several of the Members of the Côté-Droit—A remarkable Declaration made by Mirabeau—Interesting Debates on the Heads of a Law relative to Emigration—Mirabeau openly attacks, and points out the Factious among the Members of the Côté-Gauche—A large Mob of Workmen go from Paris to Vincennes, and undertake to demolish the Prison—M. de la Fayette follows them at the Head of a considerable Detachment of the National Guards—A Battalion

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disobeys,

disobeys, and insults him—The Mob dispersed, and the Ringleaders arrested—Insurrection in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine against the National Guard—Many Gentlemen uneasy for the King's Safety, fly to the Palace with Arms concealed in their Pockets—The Jealousy of the National Guards excited against them—They are insulted—Disgusting Conduct of M. de la Fayette—M. de Bouillé, informed by the King of Mirabeau's Plan, approves and promises to support it—Interview between Mirabeau and M. de la Fayette—A Letter from the latter to M. de Bouillé—Mandate of the Archbishop of Sens.

THE important question which arose on the departure of the King's Aunts (*Mesdames*) relative to the particular obligations which ought to be laid on the Royal Family, could not be constitutionally treated according to the principles already decreed, but as connected with the public functions, in which any of its members might be engaged, or to which they might be appointed: and it was only in this point of view that *Chapelier* presented it to the Assembly. Therefore, instead

instead of a Decree which the Members of the *Coté-Gauche* had anticipated in their imagination for preventing the King's Aunts from leaving the kingdom, he only proposed one prohibiting Public Functionaries from leaving the place of their official residence. In the 4th article it was said, "The King, as *first Public Functionary*, ought to reside within reach of the National Assembly when met; but when separated, he might reside in any other part of the kingdom." The articles that followed obliged the presumptive Heir of the Crown to reside near the King, leaving him at liberty to travel in any part of the kingdom with his Majesty's permission, but not to go out of it without being first authorised by a Decree of the Assembly, sanctioned by the King. In case of the minority of the presumptive Heir of the Crown, the Queen and the next Prince in succession to the presumptive Heir, of age and capable of succeeding, were obliged to a similar residence. The rest of the Royal Family were only bound as to residence by the laws common to all the citizens. In order to allay the discontents that this Decree would necessarily produce, *Chapelier* adroitly concluded it with an article, in which it was declared

declared that the Members of the Royal Family who should act contrary to it should be considered as having personally renounced the succession to the Throne. He also announced that the Committee of Constitution were going immediately to propose a Decree respecting the Emigrants, which, though constitutional, would be applicable, like martial law, only to times of effervescence, when the country might be in danger.

Notwithstanding all these precautions the *Coté-Gauche* were not satisfied, and on the opening of the debate on this plan for a Decree, *Barrere* proposed another, by which not only the Princes, but the Princesses of the Royal Family, or of those of the Princes of the Blood Royal, were to be deprived of the liberty of going out of the kingdom in times of commotion, of revolution, of war, whether civil or foreign, or of extreme scarcity of specie. The Members of the *Coté-Droit* opposed both of these plans. They were angry with the epithet of *first Public Functionary* given in both to the King, and with the fetters thrown upon his liberty. "You would make a Doge of Venice of the King of France," cried *M. de la Galissoniere*, "and the residence you impose upon
upon

upon him is a perpetual prison." *M. de Cazalès* maintained that to deprive the King of the command of his armies, after having declared him Generalissimo of them, was not only a shocking contradiction, but a sure means of reducing his Majesty to a state still more disgraceful than that in which almost all the kings of the two first races had lived. He contended also with the greatest force against the article which declared the non-residence of the King to be an abdication of the Crown.—"This article," said he, "is clearly unconstitutional: it is aimed against an inviolability which you have decreed. If the King can forfeit his Crown, he may be tried; if he can be tried he is not inviolable, and of course there is no liberty: for if the Executive Power could be tried it would be dependent; and you would see ambition creating factions and commotions. The Legislative Power would invade the supreme authority; the Nation would lose its rights and its liberty.—Remember that you are the depositaries of the will of a free people, and that it is peculiarly in the language of free men that *force* signifies *virtue*."

The Abbé *Maury* supported *M. de Cazalès* with great eloquence, insisting on an adjournment

adjournment of the question. *M. Despremenil* thinking that the adjournment did not sufficiently mark the indignation the Decrees proposed ought to excite, expressed his own with great energy. “By what right,” said he, “do the Committee dare to call the King *Public Functionary*? By what right do they propose to confound the Dauphin with men appointed to supply the places of Deputies to the National Assembly? I am not surprised that persons capable of using expressions so disrespectful, so foreign to the heart of every good Frenchman, and so far removed from all the ideas we have hitherto entertained, should propose to subject the King to a penalty of the loss of the throne. This is a total dereliction of principles. Is the King’s person inviolable? Is he sacred? Is he exempt from all jurisdiction? From all penalty? I call upon every Frenchman, upon every faithful servant of the King; I tell them that they can no longer, without a breach of their former oath, which no other can do away or countervail—”

At these words he was interrupted on the one hand by violent murmurs, and on the other by repeated plaudits. The President attempted

attempted to appease the tumult, but by a blundering expression encreased it. “ You
 “ have not yourself forgotten,” said he,
 “ the oath you took to be faithful to the
 “ Nation, the Law, and the King. It
 “ would be a breach of it in you to say that
 “ this oath could not have existed after that
 “ which you allude to.” What the President said was not what he meant to say, nor applicable to what *M. Despremenil* had said. “ That is not the point,” cried the *Coté-Droit*; “ It is the point,” replied the *Coté-Gauche*, and clapped their hands. “ *Vive le Roi !*” then cried *M. de Montlosier* with the greatest rapture. This cry being repeated by the Abbé *Maury* became general among the Members of the *Coté-Droit*, and resounded through the Hall. *M. de Cazalès* attempting to speak, the *Coté-Gauche* and the Galleries clapped their hands to drown his voice. After several vain efforts he obtained a hearing, and spoke as follows : “ I have the honour to observe
 “ that we have all taken the oath to be
 “ faithful to the Constitution. Is it possible
 “ that the President of the National Assembly
 “ can suppose that the oath is inconsistent
 “ with the fidelity which we owe the
 “ King ?

“ King ? Sooner should our tongues have
“ withered in our mouths, sooner should
“ our arms have dropped from our bodies,
“ than we would have taken such an oath.
“ We have sworn to be faithful to the King;
“ that oath shall not be taken in vain; that
“ oath we will ever invoke to repel all at-
“ tacks upon the Monarchy; by that oath
“ will we contend.”—“ We all renew it,”
cried the Abbé *Maury*: “ Yes, yes,” was
repeated by all the Members of the *Coté-
Droit*, holding up their hands. “ It is by
“ this oath,” resumed *M. de Cazalès*, “ that
“ we will prevent any thing from being in-
“ troduced into the Constitution we have
“ sworn to maintain, which may strike at
“ the Royal Authority.” Here applause
was heard in different parts of the Hall.
“ The Royal Authority is the corner stone
“ of the Government; it is upon that that
“ the Constitution rests. Some there are
“ who wish to make you forget this truth;
“ but in the circle of errors which we are
“ perhaps destined to run, it is necessary al-
“ ways to remember the Decree by which
“ you have declared France a Monarchy. It
“ is our Pharos, and will never mislead us
“ in the dark voyage into which some
“ would

“ would fain hurry us. If such be the
“ light according to which we ought to
“ steer, the President was wrong to say that
“ the oath of fidelity to the King is incom-
“ patible with the oath to the Constitution.”

—“ *He did not say that,*” was repeated by
several Members of the *Coté-Gauche*; but
none of them dared to dispute the principles
advanced by *M. de Cazalès*, nor the senti-
ments he had expressed. The President dis-
concerted, seemed as if he wished to say some-
thing, but could not articulate a word. *Mi-
rabeau* desired leave to speak, which the
Members of the *Coté-Droit* opposed, but at
length he obtained it, and after a few ob-
servations explanatory of the President’s ex-
pression, he continued thus: “ It is extremely
“ wrong to raise a doubt of our respect for
“ the oath we took of fidelity to the King,
“ because we took the Constitutional oath:
“ he who raises such a doubt deserves the
“ highest reprehension. This unambiguous
“ declaration, and for which I will contend
“ against the whole world in energy, fully
“ determined as I am to oppose the Factions
“ of all kinds who would strike at the prin-
“ ciples of the Monarchy, be the system
“ what it may, or in whatever part of the
“ king-

“ kingdom it may appear ; this declaration,
“ I say, includes all places, all times, all
“ persons, all sects.”

After having thus proclaimed this kind of manifesto against the Factions and gained it applause, *Mirabeau* concluded with moving the adjournment of the question till after the Committee of the Constitution should have completed their labours on the Regency, the education of Kings under age, and the eligibility of the Members of the reigning Family to public offices. The Assembly adopted *Mirabeau's* motion, and broke up the Sitting. The King and Queen heard with delight and sensibility what had passed, and their Majesties placed great hopes upon the moment when *Mirabeau* should declare himself so openly as to attach the Royal party to him. An opportunity for this happened in the Sitting of the 28th of February, and he seized it with as much ability as energy. This Sitting is too interesting to be passed over without an account of the principal circumstances of it.

The question was respecting a law on Emigration. *Chapelier*, the Reporter of the Committee of the Constitution who had been charged to prepare it, announced that
after

after having thoroughly examined whether the principles of the Constitution, whether the principles on which liberty, public order, and the resources of the Kingdom were founded could allow of such a law, and whether it could be grounded on the Decrees already passed, the Committee had been compelled to acknowledge that it was impossible for them to frame a law on this subject which would not be injurious to the Constitution. "The more we investigated," said he, "the more objections did we find that were unanswerable. We have nevertheless framed the plan of a decree: we were bound to do it as you required it, but we premise to you that it exceeds the limits of our principles, that it is really the spirit of a dictatorship. We beg the Assembly to decide whether they choose to hear it read or not, and whether, after the observations we have made, they persist in desiring a law on emigration."

Great debates arose to determine whether, as the Assembly could not admit the plan of a law inconsistent with the Constitution, they ought to suffer it to be read. Some maintained that it was indispensable to discuss the project drawn up by the Committee to determine formally the impossibility of mak-

ing a law on emigration, while others insisted on the previous question, the order of the day, and so forth. In the midst of this agitation, *Mirabeau* advanced towards the Tribune, to which he was invited by repeated clappings. "Within an hour," said he, "I have received ten notes, the one half of which call upon me to profess the principles I have long openly supported on the theory of emigration, and the other half urge me to attend to what has been repeatedly called in this Assembly the necessity of circumstances. I request in the situation in which I stand, that on an occasion in which it is requisite for a friend of liberty, one who has served Revolutions, and who has already made too much noise for his quiet, in which it is requisite for him I say to appear in a very clear and decided manner, I request that I may be allowed to read a page and a half (few speeches are shorter) of a letter addressed eight years ago to the most absolute despot of Europe. They who look for principles will find something reasonable in it, and at all events no one will have a right to question me any more. It is written to *Frederic William*, now King of Prussia, on the day of his accession to the throne,

1

throne, and I expressed myself thus : “ In
 “ your kingdom, Sire, men should be
 “ happy. Let every one, unless restrained
 “ in a legal manner upon private obliga-
 “ tions, be at liberty to leave his country.
 “ Give that liberty by a formal edict. This
 “ too is one of those laws of eternal truth re-
 “ quired by the force of things, which will
 “ do you immortal honour, unattended
 “ with the slightest loss ; for your people
 “ could no where find a better lot than that
 “ which you have it in your power to be-
 “ stow upon them, and if they could be
 “ more comfortable elsewhere, your prohi-
 “ bitions to go would not stop them.
 “ Leave such laws to the Powers who
 “ choose to make a prison of their States,
 “ as if that were not the means of rendering
 “ a residence in them detestable. The most
 “ absolute laws against emigration have
 “ never had any other effect than that of
 “ impelling the people to emigrate, in spite
 “ of that propensity of nature, the strongest
 “ perhaps of any, which attaches them to
 “ their country. The Laplander loves the
 “ wild climate where he was born : how
 “ then could the inhabitants of regions be-
 “ neath a milder sky think of forsaking

“ them if the bounties of Nature were not
“ rendered useless or odious by a despotic
“ administration? Man bears all that Provi-
“ dence inflicts, but he bears nothing that
“ is unjust from his fellow creatures, and if
“ he submits, it is with an unwilling heart.
“ The only language that can now have a
“ durable success is that of Justice and Rea-
“ son; and Princes cannot meditate too
“ much on the lesson which English Ame-
“ rica has given to all Governments, to be
“ just and wise, if it be not their intention
“ to govern soon only over deserts, or to en-
“ counter Revolutions.”

The letter excited great applause, but much more from the *Coté-Droit*, than from the *Coté-Gauche*. When it ceased, and *Mirabeau* could be heard, he concluded as follows: “ I move, not merely and simply to
“ pass to the order of the day; we must
“ not seem to smother in silence a circum-
“ stance which requires a formal declara-
“ tion, and which the opinion of the Com-
“ mittee renders very memorable, but I
“ move for a decree to be worded thus:
“ The National Assembly having heard the
“ Report of their Committee of the Consti-
“ tution, and considering that a law on the
“ Emigrants

“ Emigrants is incompatible with the prin-
“ ciples of the Constitution, have refused to
“ hear the plan of a law on that subject read,
“ and have decreed that they will pass to the
“ order of the day ; without prejudice never-
“ theless to the Decrees already passed respect-
“ ing such persons as have pensions and sine-
“ cures paid by the Nation, and who are out
“ of the kingdom.”

The clapping was renewed by the *Coté-Droit*, and several Members of the Assembly called for the question. The *Coté-Gauche* were silent. At last one of their Members (*Rewbell*) advanced to oppose the opinion of the Committee supported by the letter which *Mirabeau* had just read. He did not attempt to prove that a law on the subject of the Emigrants was not incompatible with the Constitution : he only maintained that without such a law there would be no longer a Constitution. “ If,” said he, “ you would secure the execution of your laws, it is necessary that my neighbour should be subject to the same duties that I am. How should I defend his possessions with my person and my blood, if he flies far from mine ? No society can exist with-

out reciprocal duties, in times of war, fire, plague, and so forth."

The Members of the *Coté-Droit*, little affected with the picture of these calamities, interrupted him with bursts of laughter; for which he was consoled by some applauses from the *Coté-Gauche*. *Rewbell* dwelt some time longer on the same ideas, but proposed no measure.

Merlin cited a passage from the Social Contract, where *Rousseau* says, *that in times of trouble emigrations may be forbidden*; and moved that the plan for the law drawn up by the Committee be read and ordered to be printed, and that the consideration of it be adjourned for eight days. The *Coté-Gauche* warmly applauded this motion, and *Muguet de Nanthou* supported it with all his power. He put the Assembly in mind that three days before, (the 25th of February) when the Report was made respecting the residence of Public Functionaries, the Committee of the Constitution had formally acknowledged the justice and necessity of a law on the Emigrants; that they had engaged not to delay the plan of one, saying, *that such a law should be as a*
Consti-

Constitutional law ; but that like Martial Law it should be applicable only in those times of effervescence and danger which rendered it necessary. “ Whence then,” added he, “ this strange conduct ? Why this extraordinary language ? Whence this instability in the principles of your Committee ? Having once changed their opinion they may change it again ; allow at least a little time for reflection, that we may know whether we ought to give our confidence to *M. Chapelier* of to-day, or to *M. Chapelier* of Friday last.”

Chapelier explained this contradiction, by saying, that after a fuller examination the Committee had found that impracticable which they had at first thought possible. The reading of the plan for a Decree drawn up by the Committee was then called for by a great number of voices, and these repeated shouts prevented those who wished to speak from being heard.

The obstinacy of the *Coté-Gauche*, in calling for the reading of the plan, having compelled the Assembly to order it, *Chapelier* read it as follows :

“ Art. I. In times of commotion, and upon the declaration of the National Assem-

bly, the following law shall be put in force by a proclamation which shall be made in all the Departments.

“ Art. II. A Council of three persons shall be appointed by the National Assembly, with a Dictatorial Power, to be exercised solely on the right of leaving the kingdom, and on the obligation of returning to it. They shall point out the absentees, who shall be held bound to return into the kingdom under pain of being treated as rebels, and no permission shall be given for leaving France but by the same authority.”

At the words *Dictatorial Power* long and violent buzzings were heard in every part of the Hall. “ The Law consists but “ of three Articles,” cried *Chapelier*; “ so “ it will require no great stretch of patience to hear it out. We think that if “ there can be one at all it must be this; “ for none else can be executed. I proceed.

“ Art. III. They who shall not be obedient to the present Law shall forfeit all the rights of a French Citizen, and be declared incapable of holding any office, and their income and estates shall be confiscated.”

The agitation and murmurs were redoubled,

bled, and the previous question was almost every where called for, while a few voices were heard for the adjournment. In the midst of the tumult *Mirabeau* rose, and in spite of the clamours of the *Coté-Gauche* obtained a hearing.

“ As the formation of the Law is irreconcilable with all kind of excess whatever, the excess of zeal is as little calculated as any other to prepare it. The Law is not to be made by indignation ; it is reflection, it is justice, it is, above all, justice by which it ought to be directed. You have not paid your Committee of Constitution the same honour that the Athenians paid to *Aristides*, when they left him the judge of the morality of the plan which he proposed ; but the murmurs which were heard at the reading of the project of the Committee shows that you were as good judges of that morality as *Aristides*, and that you did well in reserving the decision of it to yourselves. I will not do such injustice to the Assembly as to suppose it necessary to demonstrate that the three Articles proposed by the Committee might have found a suitable place in the Code of *Draco*, but can never appear among the Decrees of the National Assembly of
France,

France. What I would undertake to demonstrate perhaps, if the discussion turned to that view of the question is, that the very barbarity of the law proposed to you is the highest proof of the impracticability of a Law on Emigration.”—(Here a part of the *Coté-Gauche* cried, No! No! while the rest of the Assembly applauded.) “I am not ignorant that there are extreme cases, that there are critical situations in which measures of policy are indispensably necessary even against principles, even against established laws; it is the dictatorship of necessity; but immense is the distance between a measure of policy and a law. A law upon emigration is, I repeat it to you, a thing out of your power, because it is impracticable. It has been proved by the experience of all ages, and of all Governments upon the earth, that with power the most despotic, the most concentrated in the hands of *Busirises*, such a law has never been enforced, because it cannot be enforced. I declare that I should consider myself as absolved from my oath of fidelity to those who could be so infamous as to appoint a dictatorial commission.” Here violent murmurs arose from a party of the *Coté-Gauche*, which were drowned

drowned by the clapping of the *Coté-Droit*. “Gentlemen,” continued *Mirabeau*, “the popularity I wish, and of which I have had the honour to enjoy my share, is not a feeble reed, but an oak, whose roots I would have shoot far into the ground; that is to say, into the firm bases of the principles of reason, justice, and liberty. I should be dishonoured in my own eyes, if at any moment of my life I ceased to repel with indignation the right, the pretended right of making a law of this kind. But let me be understood, I do not mean a provisional measure, a measure of policy, but a law on emigration, against emigrants. I swear I will obey it in no case if it pass.”

These last words produced a violent clamour in the *Coté-Gauche*, where *Lameth*, *Barnave*, and their adherents were placed. *Mirabeau* treated it with a look of contempt, and repeated the plan for a Decree which he had already moved. None of the Speakers of the *Coté-Gauche* undertook to reply to him; but *Vernier*, one of the most moderate among them, only observed, that all the Departments complained of emigration, that all demanded a law on that subject; that such a law had long been talked
of

of in the Assembly, and formally promised by that very Committee who had presented so barbarous and ridiculous a plan, that it was impossible to adopt it. “Gentlemen,” added he, encouraged by the applauses which the *Coté-Gauche* lavished upon him, “I see you are led away by a very extraordinary mode of proceeding. We are told it is impossible to make a better law; but we must not be frightened at the word *impossibility*. I see none at present, but that of adopting the plan which the Committee has presented to you, and I vote for its being disposed of by the previous question. But to be very certain that it is not possible to make a better law, we must take a nearer view of it, and on this ground I move that it be referred for examination to every one of the Committees of the Assembly, who, after having examined it separately, shall unite in commissions.”

The previous question on the project presented by the Committee was called for from every quarter of the Hall, and it was unanimously rejected. The motion for a reference to the different Committees was not supported in the same manner. The *Coté-Gauche* maintaining that this was a motion of adjournment, insisted that it should stand
before

before *Mirabeau's*, which the *Coté-Droit* unanimously contended should have the precedence. After very tumultuous debates, it was decided in favour of *Vernier's*. The previous question was then called for on this motion by several Members of the *Coté-Droit*, and opposed by the clamours of the *Coté-Gauche*. *Mirabeau* attempting to speak, *Goupil de Prefeln* chose to answer him before he had said a word: "By what title," said he, "does *M. Mirabeau* here exercise the Dictatorship?" A great many Deputies of all parties leaving their places, ran into the middle of the Hall speaking all at once. The President did not know who to attend to. "I have but three words to say, Mr. President," cried *Mirabeau* from the tribune which he had ascended; "I beg the gentlemen who choose to interrupt me to recollect, that I have all my life contended against despotism, and to be perfectly assured that I will to the end of my life contend against it." The *Coté-Droit* applauded, and some voices from the *Coté-Gauche* cried: *It is not true, you exercise it.*—*Mirabeau* continued: "I also beg *M. Goupil* to remember that he was formerly mistaken in the *Cataline*, whose Dictatorship he at present

sent opposes. I now beseech the Assembly to consider that the insertion of the word *adjournment* into a motion containing several other propositions, is not enough to change it into a simple motion of adjournment.”—The *Coté-Gauche* were agitated, and murmured.—“It is not enough to blend several propositions, and cover them.”—The murmurs here became more violent.—“*Silence those thirty voices,*” continued *Mirabeau* in the most commanding tone: “It is not enough, I say, to amalgamate several propositions, and dress them up under the name of *adjournment* to obtain for them a pure and simple adjournment. The order of the day, as moved by me, is, I think, better than *M. Vernier’s* motion, to which, if the Assembly incline to adopt it, I move this amendment, that it be decreed that between this time and the expiration of the adjournment there shall be no riot.”

Some murmurs, lower and more concealed than the preceding ones, were again mingled with the repeated applauses which the Members of the *Coté-Droit* bestowed on *Mirabeau*; but the looks of the *thirty factious leaders* whom he apostrophised were much fallen. They, no doubt, dreaded that *Mirabeau*

rabreau having unmasked the secret of their number, would also unmask the secret of their plots. Not one of them spoke: they contented themselves with securing by their votes the majority for the motion opposed by *Mirabeau*, and which was finally decreed in spite of the warm remonstrances of the *Coté-Droit*.

That these details may not appear too minute, we must keep in view that this Sitting, in which *Mirabeau*, attacking openly the factious leaders of the Revolution, rallied about him all the members of the Royal Party without losing his popularity, was also the last in which he took any part that could be said to be remarkable.

The same day (February 28) was distinguished by other events too important to be passed over in silence. In the morning a great number of workmen went in a riotous manner to Vincennes, declaring their intention of demolishing the State Prison there, which the Assembly had authorised the Municipality of Paris to repair, for the purpose of receiving a part of the prisoners who were crowded in the prisons of the capital. The rioters, on their arrival, proceeded immediately to the tower, and after destroying the

the furniture, the gates, windows, and bars, which had been just repaired, they began to demolish the parapets and the platform. At two o'clock in the afternoon, *M. de la Fayette* ordered the drums to beat to arms, and assembled a large detachment to repel this attempt. The battalions of the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, at the instigation of *Santerre*, murmured loudly against this expedition, and showed the greatest repugnance to joining in it. *M. de la Fayette* did not think it proper to attend at that moment to this act of disobedience, and marched to Vincennes with his army, accompanied by the Municipal Officer. The latter, when they arrived at the draw-bridge at the head of the column, found the court of the castle filled with a mob of about 4000 persons, whom they ordered to retire immediately. This order being repeated, and supported by a large detachment of cavalry, was obeyed in less than five minutes.

As the General was arranging his troops, the cry of *Down with La Fayette*, several times repeated by the Chasseurs of one of his battalions, struck his ear. Fortunately for him he did not appear to be the least disconcerted by it; but advancing boldly to the
battalion

battalion from which the cries had proceeded; he ordered all who did not choose to defend the laws to leave the ranks. Not a man stirring, he declared in a very forcible tone that he who did not obey should be immediately punished.

The demolition, however, was still carried on. The workmen answered the summons to come down only by threats. They even rung the alarm on the bell hung at the extremity of the tower; upon which a Municipal Officer went up, accompanied by the Commander of a battalion and a great number of volunteers, and after some resistance succeeded in clearing it of the workmen, and arrested sixty-four of the mutineers most obstinately bent on the demolition of the prison. *M. de la Fayette* then left a numerous detachment in the castle to prevent new enterprises, and set out with his army for Paris. The prisoners were in the centre: two strong detachments of cavalry formed the van and rear guards. The infantry marched in four columns, and the wings were flanked by several pieces of cannon.

The malecontents of the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, who had not dared to oppose the march of the army, thought themselves

strong enough to prevent their return, and saw nothing but patriotism in it, without suspecting that the motives of those who instigated them, and particularly *Santerre*, could only be to rob *M. de la Fayette* of his popularity. Be that as it may, the Parisian army found the *Barriere du trône* shut, and guarded by an immense crowd, armed with every sort of weapon, who seemed to intend to rescue the prisoners, and to prevent the National Guard from re-entering Paris. However, a body of troops, composed of cavalry and infantry, with the artillery, soon opened the gate, and dispersed this mob. Some of the troopers were assailed with stones thrown by the people. After they had reached the market *St. Antoine*, all plan of resistance seemed to be given up, and the army was advancing without any obstacle, when a trooper had his thigh broken by a shot from a window. The National Guards, however, continued their march, and lodged their prisoners in the *Conciergerie*.

The extreme fermentation produced by these commotions in the capital, had spread the greatest alarms. All the streets were lighted. It was feared that the seditious
had

had formed the project of going to the Palace, where an ill-looking man with a hanger in his belt had been arrested in the morning; on which a report had been immediately spread that the person was an assassin, and his hanger a poniard*. The fears which this story had excited for the safety of the King were increased to such a degree by the commotions of the day, that several zealous Royalists flew to the Palace with arms concealed in their pockets, or under their coats, to defend, at the risque of their own lives, those of the King and Royal Family if they were threatened. This noble emotion, which was always so natural to the French nobility, was unfortunately attended with imprudence and indiscretion. Some young Royalists, before they went to the Palace, called at the *Palais-Royal* to recruit their numbers, without concealing their intention, and spoke of it with so little caution, that the news of it soon spread throughout the Garden. The National Guards who were there immediately ran and gave intel-

* It was not known till the next day that this person was the Chevalier *Count de la Tonelle*, a very brave officer, enthusiastically attached to the King, and anxious to give proofs of his zeal.

ligence of it to those who were on guard at the Palace. “ You are looked upon then,” said they to them, “ as cowards or as traitors, for a number of armed persons are permitted to enter the Palace secretly, to defend separately, and without any communication with you, a post confided to you. You cannot suffer it without dishonouring yourselves. It is not certainly the King’s desire that you should experience this humiliation: this assembling must doubtless be formed without his knowledge; denounce it to him and complain.”

This information so exasperated the division of the National Guards who were then on guard at the Palace, that they charged their officers to go immediately and beg the King to give orders for the disarming and removal of the Aristocrats, who had assembled, to the number of about 300, in a room adjoining his Majesty’s apartment. The King strove in vain to pacify those officers; they became but the more imperious in their demands. The warmth and tone with which these were insisted upon, convincing the King that if they were rejected the massacre of all the gentlemen who had come to the Palace would be the immediate

diate consequence, his Majesty engaged to demand their arms, and dismiss them instantly.

The King gave with sorrow and sensibility an order which was forced from him by the dread of seeing the blood of so many faithful servants shed before his eyes. They received it with consternation, and submitted to it. Their arms were delivered to his Majesty, who shut them up in a drawer to have them restored the next day. It was at this moment that *M. de la Fayette*, on his return from Vincennes, repaired to the Palace, learned what was passing there, and eagerly seized the occasion to confirm his popularity, the rapid decline of which might well alarm him. He went then into the King's apartment, and instead of confining himself to the supporting of the complaints of the National Guards, he caused the drawers that contained the arms that had been just delivered to his Majesty to be opened, and the arms to be distributed among his soldiers. At the same time the 300 Royalists, thus disarmed, were all flying home, pursued in a cowardly manner, and insulted by the National Guards, who arrested six of them, whom they lodged in prison, after treating them

most shamefully *. *M. de la Fayette* thought he had not yet done enough: he forced the King to give an order that in future only the National Guards, who formed his Majesty's guard, and the persons belonging to his household and to that of the Royal Family, should be admitted into the Palace. The very next day the gates of the Tuileries were shut, and no stranger allowed to enter.

It was in this manner that the Palace of the Tuileries began to assume all the marks of a state prison, into which, as was formerly the case with the Bastile, only the Governor, the guards, and the servants were suffered to pass. Nothing but the hope of being soon delivered from this slavery could have made the King support it; and in *Mirabeau's* plan he had this prospect. Very early in February his Majesty had communicated it to the Marquis *de Bouillé*, informing him at the same time that in a few days he would see the Count *de L.* whom *Mirabeau* was to send to consult with him on the means of its execution, to the success of which he might contribute. The King in his letter, speaking of *Mirabeau*, said:

* They were not set at liberty till the 12th of March.

“ Although

“ Although the character of this man is any
 “ thing but respectable, and although he
 “ makes me purchase his services very dear-
 “ ly, I think they will be useful to me. It
 “ appears to me that a great part of his plans
 “ ought to be adopted. Still I am of opinion
 “ that you should listen to what the Count
 “ *de L.* has to impart to you from him with-
 “ out opening yourself too much, and tell me
 “ what you think of his communication *.”

The day after *M. de Bouillé* received this letter, the Count *de L.* arrived at Metz, and paid him his first visit. He gave him the minutest detail of *Mirabeau's* projects, of the funds he had already received from the King, and of those he was to receive monthly, of the number of Departments on which he could depend, which he reckoned to be thirty-six, and of every other particular. His plan was to place the King and Royal Family at *Fontainebleau*, or at *Compiègne*, into the hands of *M. de Bouillé*, who should repair thither with his best troops.

M. de Bouillé approved this plan the more, as on his side he had completely the six De-

* As to these facts, see the Memoirs of *M. de Bouillé*, chap. xi.

partments which were under his command, and was besides informed by his correspondence with the Commanders of the different divisions of the army spread over the kingdom, that there was scarcely a single Department which was not disposed to declare itself in favour of Royalty as soon as the opportunity should offer: but to impress and direct this general movement required superior talents, great popularity, a bold spirit, the greatest ability, and, above all, a character of vast energy; and in *M. de Bouillé's* eyes nobody united all these advantages so completely as *Mirabeau*. He considered even his passions, and particularly his ambition and insatiable avarice, as the best sureties for his fidelity to the service of a cause by which he had most to gain in every point of view.

M. de Bouillé therefore fully approved *Mirabeau's* plan, and promised the Count *de L.* to second the execution of it with all the means in his power. He wrote to the same effect to the King, and advised him to relinquish the plan which his Majesty had formed of going to Montmedy, and which he thought was far more dangerous, and had much less probability of success.

The day after the Count *de L.'s* departure
from

from Metz, *M. de la Fayette*, who was also meditating a plan, and who feared the obstacles that might be thrown in its way by *Mirabeau*, whom he suspected of very different views, had a conference with him of three hours, in which each endeavoured to sift the other without suffering himself to be discovered, and which they concluded without advancing a step nearer than they were before. It was impossible, in fact, that there could be the slightest degree of intelligence between two men who so cordially detested, while they thought they despised each other. Had they not been divided irrevocably by their constant rivalry in ambition and popularity, they must necessarily have been so by the immense distance at which they were placed, by the difference of their character and genius, if however we may call the petty faculties of *M. de la Fayette* by the name of genius *. However that may have

* In an interview between them, which had been brought about by their mutual friends to reconcile them, *Mirabeau* having for the execution of some plan proposed means of a violent nature, *M. de la Fayette* started, and exclaimed: "Nay, *M. de Mirabeau*, it is impossible that
" a man of honour can employ such means." "A man
" of honour!" replied *Mirabeau*: "Ah! *M. de la*
" *Fayette*,

have been, it was after this conversation that the Commander of the Parisian National Guard wrote to *M. de Bouillé* the letter I shall here report, and which may be considered as a faithful picture of the Court, the Assembly, and the Capital at that time. Nothing is exaggerated but the imputation cast upon the Priests, and what *M. de la Fayette* says of his own situation. His painting this in such fine colours is owing to his seeing it always through the prism of vanity. *M. de Bouillé* showed me the original letter, which he published in his Memoirs, and is as follows :

“ *Fayette*, I see that you would be a *Grandison Cromwell*—
“ You will see where such a mixture will lead you.”—
Another time, upon a similar occasion, *M. de la Fayette* complaining bitterly of the atrocious projects which were formed against him by his enemies, and by *Mirabeau* himself, the latter called upon him to explain. “ Well,
“ then,” replied *M. de la Fayette*, “ I will tell you,
“ since you force me to it, that I was thoroughly acquainted with your intention of having me assassinated.”—“ I, Sir!”—“ Yes, Sir, in such a place, on
“ such a day, at such an hour; I was sure of it.”—
“ You were sure of it!—You were sure of it, *M. de la Fayette*! and I still alive!—What a good creature you
“ are! And you think of taking the leading parts in a
“ Revolution!”

“ *Paris,*

“ *Paris, Feb. 7, 1791.*

“ It is a long time, my dear cousin, since I wrote to you ; and since my conversation with your son, I have not had it in my power to give you any interesting news.— Paris has been divided by factions, and the kingdom oppressed by anarchy. The violent Aristocrats dream of Counter-Revolution ; the Priests concur with them through fanaticism ; the moderate Aristocrats have not the courage to commit foolish things, but they say a great many. The impartial Monarchists, and the politicians of every degree of the *Coté-Droit*, are only looking for a part to play, without the means, physical or moral, of doing it ; and they too, if they should become any thing, would be Aristocrats. In the *Coté-Gauche* you have a great many honest men who wait in suspense ; a club of 1789, who lose themselves in philosophical speculations ; a club of Jacobins, the body of which are also well inclined, but the leaders of which spread trouble every where. All this is increased by associates in the Capital, and in the Provinces ; and, unfortunately, number more than choice is aimed at, because the leaders are influenced by private interests and passions. As to the Ministers, they

they are merged in the Revolution, and have no rule but this, to yield to the popular party, whose denunciations they fear. The Courtiers are as heretofore, very silly, very contemptible, and very aristocratic. The Queen is resigned to the Revolution, hoping that opinions will change a little, but dreading war. The King only wishes for the happiness of the people, and the general tranquillity to begin his own.

“ I have forgotten to speak of myself. I am violently attacked by all the party leaders, who consider me as an obstacle not to be overcome, and impossible to intimidate; and the first article of every vile project is to overthrow me. Add to this the well-merited hatred of the Aristocrats, and of the *Orleans* party, who have more power than they appear to have: add the rage of the *Lameths*, with whom I was connected; of *Mirabeau*, who says I despised him: add the money distributed, the libels, the dissatisfaction I give to those whom I prevent from pillaging Paris, and you will have the sum of all that is going on against me. But, except a few ardent heads which are misled, all well-meaning men, from the poorest of the people to the highest, the violent Aristocrats excepted, are

are for me. I stand well with the National Guards, all but some disreputable Jacobins; for the honest Jacobins are for me, notwithstanding my resolution to go no more to their Club. For two months past I have had less communication with the Court than ever, because it answered no purpose, and I do only what may be useful to my country; but I fear advantage has been taken of my negligence to intrigue: I know that they were ever upon the point of being led into great follies, and that they stopped upon the brink of the precipice. There are such sad people about the Queen; the little heads of the Tuileries catch so eagerly at hopes, and calculate obstacles so ill, that it is to be feared they will spoil this precious instrument of public order, and make the King only a means of private ambition. Such is the general situation; and my ideas are these:

“ Some friends, and particularly *Emeri*, are at work with me upon a plan of conduct by which the Revolution will be consolidated, the good basis of the Constitution established, and public order restored. The chief talents of the Assembly, *Mirabeau* himself, cannot but support this association, and it is for this he is particularly adapted. Here now
then

then are Courts established ; and the police of the kingdoms, the Juries are decreed ; this is the moment to let our voice be heard with force, propriety, and utility.

“ You have accepted the coalition which my heart and my patriotism have offered you ; you said the other day to one of my friends : ‘ If *La Fayette* and I understand one another well, we shall establish a Constitution.’ I value your friendship and your opinion too much not to communicate all my ideas to you, and to request yours. A few days hence I will write to you more circumstantially.

“ My first wish is to finish the Revolution speedily and well, to secure the Constitution on solid foundations, to employ for that purpose all I possess of national confidence and personal means, and then to be nothing more in France, either in a civil or military capacity, than an active citizen, and in time of war your *Aid-de-camp*, if you will have me, without rank or command. Adieu, my dear cousin, &c. &c.

“ FAYETTE.”

“ *P. S.* There are a number of people whose heads are big with mighty projects, all the fruit of petty ambition. I will give
you

you my opinion about them as I know them. But for men of honour, like us, it is our parts to proceed directly and openly to a useful and known object: all those mysteries and intrigues are only fit for rogues, as all the fancies of weak heads are of use only to their enemies."

Instead of accusing the Priests of concurring by the means of fanaticism in spreading commotions and anarchy through the kingdom, *M. de la Fayette* might have said with much more truth that the determined manner in which the robbery, deprivation, and superseding of the lawful clergymen were carried on, excited so general an indignation, that it was very much to be apprehended that religious fanaticism prevailing over the revolutionary fanaticism would annihilate the new Constitution; and which no doubt would have been the case if those faithful Ministers of the Gospel, who were proscribed, driven from these offices, torn from the midst of that sanctuary, and from the foot of those altars where the simple exercise of their duties seemed daily to revive the resignation of their losses, and the energy of their virtues, had not taken all the pains in
3 their

their power to calm the minds of the people, and to prevent a civil war which they were accused of exciting. These pains were far more effectual than the captious and hypocritical mandates of the new Bishops*, than
the

* I shall confine myself to quoting the following passage of the Mandate published by Cardinal *de Lomenie*, on the subject of Lent.

“ It is very grateful to us to be able to tell you that it was of Charity we took counsel, when it was proposed to us to take an oath to maintain with all our power the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the King. We argued that if we could do it, Charity made it a duty; and reciprocally if Charity made it a duty, we could do it; because truth could not be contradictory to itself. From the examination we made of the Decrees of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, we found that we had the necessary authority to co-operate in the Articles the execution of which was required of us, and that by our concurrence we might put an end to the irregularities with which they might have been charged, if that concurrence was not obtained. We found that these articles left the Church in possession of that proper and essential jurisdiction, in the defence of which the Clergy of France deigned formerly to employ our voice, and which confining itself within its limits is meant for the instruction of the doctrine and the administration of the Sacraments. We found particularly that these articles were not contradictory to the faith or to the essence of religion, such as it was given to us by JESUS CHRIST,
and

the petty lists of conforming priests published in the Revolutionary Papers, or than the calumniating declamations repeated every day against the Clergy in the Reports made to the Assembly. “ We spend a great deal
“ too much time on the clergy,” said *Mirabeau* on this subject in the Sitting of the 2d of March ; “ we should at present think
“ only of causing their pensions to be paid
“ to them, and of letting them go to sleep
“ in peace.”

and from these decisive observations we concluded that we could not without a breach of charity refuse to execute them, or to give our promise to maintain them. If it is written that it is better to obey GOD than Man, when the commandments of men are contrary to the Divine Law, it is also written that when there is no such opposition, he who resists the Sovereign Power resists the commandment of God, &c. &c.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Weakness of the constituted Authorities—The King's Sickness—Reduction of the Number of the Marshals of France—Victor de Broglie's Petition in favor of his Father—Marshal Broglie disclaims the Application—Conduct of the Bishop of Autun—The Abbé Gobet, Bishop of Lydda, is nominated Bishop of Paris—Anecdotes—A Letter from Cardinal Lomenie to the Pope—Conduct of Mirabeau—Debate upon the Regency, and on the Residence of the King as Chief Public Functionary—Tumultuous Agitation in the Assembly—The Debate adjourned—Resumed the next Day—The Opinion of the Committee adopted—The Members of the Côté-Droit take no part in the Decision—Sickness, Death, and Funeral of Mirabeau—Debate

*bate on the Distribution of Successions—
A Discourse of Mirabeau's on that Question
read by the Bishop of Autun.*

THE inhabitants of Arnay-le-Duc still persisted in detaining the King's Aunts in spite of the Decree of the Assembly and his Majesty's orders, supported by the injunctions of the Directors of the Department and of those of the District, and by the *solicitations* of the Municipal Officers ; for all the constituted authorities were authorities under subjection to the will of the sovereign people, who never obeyed them but when they had the prudence to order them to do what they liked to do. The Patriots of Arnay-le-Duc seeing in the public papers, that the journey of the King's Aunts was still the subject of remonstrance among some Members of the Assembly and the populace of Paris, had sent Deputies thither to be informed by them whether the Decree of the 24th of February and the King's orders had been, or were to be revoked, and their Royal Highnesses were not suffered to continue their journey till the return of those Deputies.

In the Capital as well as at Arnay-le-Duc, the Department and the Municipality in their

Proclamations assumed much less the language of authority than that of exhortation and humble entreaty. “ Citizens,” said the Magistrates of the Department, in that which they published on the occasion of the insurrection of the 28th of February, “ Citizens, “ your fellow-citizens, those whom you have “ raised to the chief offices of the Administration, grieved at the disorders which “ have been passing in the Capital, denounce “ the authors of those troubles to you as the “ enemies whom you ought the most to distrust.—See how guilty those men are! “ They in some manner endanger the success “ of the Revolution.—They make use of “ commotions to render the Constitution “ odious ; for a Constitution is only good as “ it secures tranquillity.—They also disgrace “ Liberty, for Liberty does not consist in “ acknowledging no authority—Observe too “ that the authors of the troubles do still “ more injury to the poor than to the rich, “ for when public tranquillity is interrupted, every one is anxious for the future, shuts up his fortune, suspends his labours, diminishes his expences, and “ thinks of quitting a town where the safety “ of every individual is not sufficiently protected

“ tected by the law. Do the inhabitants of
 “ Paris require any other motives to induce
 “ them to peace than their interest and their
 “ own glory? This town began the Revo-
 “ lution by its courage*: it must complete it
 “ by its submission to the Laws. Let it fur-
 “ nish its Magistrates with the means of
 “ repairing its losses and recompencing it
 “ for all its sacrifices. Public tranquillity
 “ is, above all, indispensable to encourage
 “ their progress, and if they desire it as a
 “ means of success in their important la-
 “ bours, they request it also as the most
 “ pleasing recompence for their zeal in their
 “ difficult employments.”

The Municipality, stimulated by the De-
 partment, ordered the Solicitor of the Com-
 mune to denounce to the Public Accuser the
 crime of firing at the trooper of the Na-
 tional Guard whose thigh had been broken
 by a gun-shot, and also the manœuvres em-
 ployed to instigate the workmen to the de-
 molition of the prison at Vincennes; but
 this denunciation was attended with no con-
 sequences. In the same resolution the Mu-
 nicipal Body requested *M. de la Fayette*,
 “ to express the gratitude of the Municipa-

* The courage of pillaging, burning, and assassinating!

“ lity to the National Guard ; declaring
“ nevertheless that the Municipal Body re-
“ gretted not being able to bestow the same
“ praises on some of the foldiers forming a
“ part of the detachment under the com-
“ mand of *M. Santerre*.” This was the
only punishment *the Authorities* dared to
think of inflicting on the detachment whose
conduct had been not only disorderly but
feditious.

The King was so deeply affected by the
catastrophe which closed the 28th of Febru-
ary, that a few days after, his health under-
went a serious change. On the 4th of
March his Majesty was seized with a vio-
lent increasing fever, accompanied with a
sore throat, oppression, and spitting of blood ;
he continued eight or ten days extremely ill.
When all the alarming symptoms disappeared,
and the King's convalescence was announced,
this was celebrated at Paris on the 17th of
March by illuminations, and the Munici-
pality resolved, that on the Sunday following
a *Te Deum* should be sung in the Church of
Notre Dame, as a thanksgiving for the
speedy recovery of the King's health ; and
that this *Te Deum* should be followed by a
general illumination. The Assembly like-
wise

wife on this occasion manifested all the concern and attention they owed to the King. The first day on which an account was sent to them of his illness, they resolved that a deputation should go every morning to the palace and give an account of the state of his Majesty's health at the opening of every Sitting. The President in pronouncing the Resolution very aptly observed, that "it
" was the surest means to fill the Hall
" early."

Among the Decrees passed by the Assembly during the King's illness the most remarkable were :

1st. That which abolished the old military system.

2dly. That which suppressed the *Ferme Generale* (or the farming of the revenue), and the General Administration.

3dly. That which ordained the establishment of a Provisional Court at Orleans, to try treasons against the Nation, till the formation of the High National Court.

4thly. That which reduced the number of the Marshals of France to six, with a salary of 30,000 livres ; and that of the Lieutenant - Generals actually employed to thirty, saving the allowance to be granted to

the Marshals of France, who were upon the existing establishment, but who were not to be kept in employment, and which the Assembly reserved to be afterwards determined by them.

The day after the last Decree was passed, *Victor de Broglie*, induced by a deep sense of filial piety, very pathetically besought the Assembly to suspend, in respect to Marshal *de Broglie*, the immediate effect of the article concerning the rank of Marshal of France. In his petition, the speaker priding himself on seeing his name inscribed among those of the most constant and most intrepid defenders of Liberty, adduced the services he had rendered the Revolution as a title which should be the means of preserving for his father the reward of those he had rendered to the country. “He would never
“survive,” said he, “the misfortune of
“losing in the French army a rank so justly
“acquired; and of undergoing a penalty
“inflicted by the Nation too for whom he
“has frequently shed his blood, and a thou-
“sand times exposed his life.” Among the number of Marshal *Broglie*’s victories which might have been cited in support of this fact, that of Bergen was the only one his

panegyrist mentioned, because he thought it would conduce to the success of his petition to bring to recollection *that the Court had recompensed that important service by a signal disgrace; by an exile which, while it added to the glory of the General the lustre of adversity, became the fatal term of the superiority he had given to the French arms.* Victor Broglie, passing afterwards to the events of the month of July 1789, said: “ I am now
 “ arrived at a period that awakens all my
 “ feelings, and for which I told you I
 “ should need your indulgence.”——The indulgence of the Assembly implored for Marshal Broglie!—by his son!——“ Mar-
 “ shal Broglie arrived at Versailles.—His
 “ first words, words surely memorable, were
 “ these: ‘ I see an army indeed, but where
 “ is the enemy?’ The Council who dreaded
 “ his rigorous virtue, continually assembled
 “ in those stormy moments, and never
 “ called him to their meetings. He was
 “ ignorant of all their projects. It was
 “ from the public voice he first heard of
 “ Mr. Necker’s departure; and while he
 “ was entirely occupied in maintaining order
 “ among his troops and harmony with the
 “ citizens, that harmony was disturbed by
 “ orders

“ orders contrary to his, by hostile disposi-
“ tions in which he had no part.—He
“ showed the King the necessity of with-
“ drawing the troops, and solicited the
“ order for it. The National Assembly
“ made their wish known, and the troops
“ retired.—He determined to accompany
“ them. When arrived at his government,
“ he dreaded being an object of uneasiness
“ to the citizens who had been deceived
“ respecting his intentions, and preferring
“ exile, he departed. The soldiers who
“ accompanied him to the frontiers could
“ not restrain their tears, when they saw
“ those that flowed from the eyes of their
“ old General on the rigorous conduct he
“ prescribed to himself. Tranquil and
“ blameless in the retreat which he has
“ chosen, he deems it one of the greatest
“ misfortunes of his situation not to be
“ sheltered from the guilty invitations
“ which his talents have several times em-
“ boldened the enemies of the country to
“ make to him, and which I here aver have
“ been lately repeated to him, with greater
“ importunity and audacity than ever, by
“ persons who make no secret of their in-
“ tentions. With his usual frankness he
“ replied

“ replied thus to those perfidious agents :
 “ ‘ *I can conceive that there may be a dif-*
 “ *ference of opinion upon what is passing*
 “ *in France, and that so many changes*
 “ *may be considered as an overthrow ; but*
 “ *I cannot without indignation hear of a*
 “ *project formed by Frenchmen to bear*
 “ *arms against their Country—Go, you*
 “ *make me shudder !*”

This petition, and particularly the last expression, was generally applauded. The Assembly ordered it to be printed, and immediately decreed, that in consideration of the long and important services of the Marshal *de Broglie*, and of the bad state of his health, nothing should be determined for the present on the rank and degree of Marshal of France enjoyed by him, and in which they maintained him provisionally.

A similar exception to that decreed in favour of Marshal *Broglie* was claimed two days after for Marshal *de Castries* by several Members of the Assembly, and his right to it from his victories and distinguished services was generally acknowledged ; but as the motion had been already made some days before by *M. Malouet*, and referred to the Committee, the Assembly thought it proper

proper to postpone the decision till their Report, and passed to the order of the day.

The sentiments and expressions which *Victor de Broglio* had ascribed to his father, the humble and doleful picture he drew of him in his petition, could not be well reconciled with that noble pride, that austere honour, and that gentlemanlike frankness, which distinguished the old General Officers of the French army in former days, and particularly *Marshal Broglio*. He no sooner heard of the step his son had taken, than he disclaimed it with indignation in a letter dated at Treves, which was inserted in several public papers, and which he did not even condescend to address to him. Had the filial piety of *Victor Broglio* excited in him a sincere desire to alleviate the sorrows of his father, he would have hastened to abjure his errors, and to change his conduct entirely.

While *Marshal Broglio* thus repelled a Decree, in which he could not acquiesce without allowing it to be supposed that he was inclined to take the new oath prescribed to Public Functionaries, Cardinal *Bernis*, the Ambassador at Rome, and the Marquis *de Bombelles*, the Ambassador at Venice, set the same example in the Diplomatic Corps.

As

As soon as the Minister for Foreign Affairs heard it, he announced their dismissal to the Assembly, informing them that new appointments would immediately take place.

The nomination of the new Bishops was carried on throughout the Kingdom with the greatest dispatch. That of the Bishop of *Paris* was postponed, because *M. de Juigné* was out of the kingdom, and it was necessary to wait for a formal declaration from him of his refusal to take the new oath. The public opinion and most of the newspapers had at first marked out the Bishop of *Autun* or the Abbé *Sieyes* for his successor. But the Bishop of *Autun* soon declared, that although he could not but be proud to see his name placed with that of the Abbé *Sieyes*, that he should not accept it even if he were nominated. “I will not,” said he, “give
“ my enemies an occasion to say that any
“ private motive could induce me to take
“ the oath. I will leave them no handle to
“ hurt the good I hope to do. I made my
“ wishes as public as I now make this de-
“ termination, when I declared how much
“ I should be flattered by being one of the
“ Members of the Department of Paris*.”

* See the *Moniteur* of the 8th of February 1791.

His wishes were gratified ; he was appointed a Member of the Department at the same time with *Mirabeau*, his bosom friend, who had also been very anxious for that office, in order to unite all the means of influence and popularity that could contribute to the success of his plan. It is more than probable that he had taken the Bishop of *Autun* into his confidence ; but whether we admit or reject this supposition, it remains to be explained by what motive the *Abbé de Talleyrand*, of whom any thing might be said but that he was a fool, neither wishing to keep his own Bishopric or desiring another, could determine to set the first example of apostacy by an oath with which he might have dispensed by resigning a few days sooner. His opinion on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was the same as that of all the Bishops, but he was the only one of them who voted with the *Coté-Gauche*, and this circumstance rendered his situation very embarrassing. How is his Revolutionary conduct to be reconciled with that which his opinion on the new oath prescribed to him ? He was not inclined either to take or to reject it ; he wished to avoid it. He therefore was determined to give in his resignation

before the day fixed for the taking of the oath. This resolution was warmly opposed by the chief members of his party. They represented to him on good grounds, that this step, to which his popularity would give the greater weight, would be considered as a formal refusal of taking the oath, and would do more harm not only to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy but to the Revolution itself, than all the protestations and restrictions that could be made by the Bishops of the opposite Party; that whatever was his private opinion upon the oath, it was only to the execution of it he could object, and that he would be as completely exempted from that by resigning after he had sworn as he would without swearing. He was prevailed upon by importunity to agree to this. When he was seen in the Tribune defending the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and taking the oath, no one doubted but that he was insincere. He was openly accused of it by all the Anti-revolutionary Journalists. His friends then persuaded him, that to repel effectually an accusation which so seriously impeached his honour, it was indispensable, before he resigned, to prove by some unequivocal act that he had sworn sincerely,

sincerely, so that at most he might be charged with an error only, and not with a crime. This motive determined him to write a public letter to the Ecclesiastical Functionaries of his Diocese, to inform them that he had taken the oath, and to invite them to follow his example. This letter was inserted in all the journals*: he resigned a few days after.

When the consecration of the first Constitutional Bishops was to take place, the Archbishop of *Sens* and the Bishops of *Orleans*, having resolutely refused to undertake it, the Bishop of *Autun* was applied to, and he at first very firmly withstood the invitation and all the entreaties with which it was accompanied. He had abdicated the Episcopacy, no more to exercise the functions of it, and that which he was requested to undertake being the most august and solemn, was, on that account only, what he was the most repugnant to. The two other Prelates were tried again, but they persisted in their refusal, and threw the Anti-religious Faction into the most vexatious embarrassment. They saw their decisive operation likely to fail entirely from the impossibility of replacing

* Appendix, No. xii.

the Bishops who had been deprived, which almost all of them were. They therefore returned to the Bishop of *Autun*, to whom *Treillard*, the Advocate, undertook to speak. He reproached him most vehemently with his want of character, and his pusillanimity. “ You are too far advanced to recede,” said he: “ when once a man has decided in favour of a Party, he must not serve it by halves if he wishes to be supported by it, and you can no longer expect support from any but us. What could you hope from the Aristocratic Party? You have already done too much not to be for ever the object of their hatred: will you also be that of their contempt? We shall give you up to it, and add our own; for with these perpetual waverings a man is good for nothing in a Revolution, and becomes equally odious to all Parties. This will be your fate if you hesitate any longer; and I am commissioned to declare it to you*.” These
menaces

* *Treillard* in the first Assembly had originally displayed the greatest moderation. He spoke little, but always discreetly, and to the same effect as the Members of the *Coté-Droit*. The Members of the *Coté-Gauche*, think-

menaces supported by the bad advice of some of his friends overcame his resistance.

Thus is it, that in the path of honour and duty the first false step rarely leaves sufficient strength to avoid a second: the second is almost always followed by a third; they then increase, succeed rapidly, and very soon lead from deviation to deviation, from fall to fall, to the lowest degree of vileness.

The refusal of the Archbishop of *Paris* to take the oath being at length formally made known, the Assembly of Electors appointed the Abbé *Gobet*, Bishop of *Lydda*, to succeed that virtuous Prelate. He was nominated at the same time, almost unanimously, to the Bishopric of the Department

ing lightly of his talents, paid no attention to him at first: but the manner in which he spoke in favour of the *Veto* opened their eyes, and they began to fear that this Advocate might prove a troublesome opponent if they did not secure him. They immediately practised all their arts of seduction to gain him over to their Party. It required only eight days to convert him. He then took his place in the *Côté-Gauche*, and figured amongst the most violent Constitutional Orators. He has since appeared in the character of a flaming Revolutionist, a furious Republican, and finally, a Member of the Directory.

of

of the Upper Rhine, and to that of the Department of the Upper Marne; but as he could only hold one he chose the best, and announced to the Assembly that he accepted the Metropolitan See of Paris. The *Coté-Gauche* and the galleries testified their gratitude and joy by repeated plaudits. He was proclaimed and installed with pomp on the 17th of March in the Church of *Notre Dame* by the Body of Electors, on which occasion he read a homily, far more Constitutional than Evangelical. He received the canonical institution from the late Bishop of *Autun* on the 24th of March, and the next day he was installed again by the Municipality.

If there should ever arise a doubt on the defect and inconveniences without number, attending popular elections, in the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities, the manner in which the Bishops and Priests were replaced in 1791, would be enough to decide the question. I shall cite but one example, that of the Bishop of *Lydda*, who was nominated by three Electoral Assemblies to three different Sees. The first idea that strikes the mind on this, is, that to obtain so many suffrages he must really have pos-

fessed some merit. Was that the case? No—this Bishop of *Lydda*, this Abbé *Gobet*, was but an intriguing hypocrite of the vilest kind, as we may judge from the following anecdote. In the year 1792, he went to the Marquis *de Spinola*, the Genoese Minister, with whom he had requested an interview on a business of the utmost importance. “I come, Sir,” said he to him, in an affecting tone, “to impart to you a
“ grand project which my conscience has
“ suggested to me, and the success of which
“ depends greatly upon you. The matter
“ is this: Divine Providence has granted
“ me his grace to see the enormity of the
“ crime which I have committed in taking
“ the Constitutional Oath. I wish to re-
“ tract it. I have perhaps rendered myself
“ still more guilty by accepting the Bishopric
“ of Paris. I am resolved to resign it; but
“ I would make my recantation and re-
“ signation in a manner so solemn, that there
“ should result from them in favour of Re-
“ ligion, a benefit greater than the injury I
“ may have done it, by the scandal of my
“ conduct.”

The Marquis *de Spinola* could not but be edified by this resolution, but he had no no-
tion

tion how his concurrence could be of use in the business. The Abbé *Gobet* soon solved the riddle. “Not to mention the danger of being massacred,” continued he, “to which I expose myself by so striking a conduct, it is certain that I shall be deprived of all kind of stipend: the Decree is positive on that head. I have no fortune, and I have been under the necessity of contracting debts. If I am ruined and left a bankrupt for having done my duty, my example will not have many followers. I wish therefore to know, Sir, whether it would be agreeable to you or not to undertake to impart my intentions to the Pope, and solicit for me the assistance of a hundred thousand crowns, which would be enough to pay my debts, and secure me a subsistence.— This sum may appear to you a large one, yet it is very moderate, if you consider, that the salvation of Religion in France may depend upon it.”

The Marquis *de Spinola*, who himself related this anecdote to me, seeing that the affair had nothing to do with the business of the Republic of Genoa, refused positively

to interfere in it, and heard no more of the Abbé Gobet, who, without having either recanted or resigned, perished by the guillotine, when it came to the turn of the brigands of his description. *Ab uno disce omnes**.

Cardinal *de Lomenie* being nominated by the Electoral Assemblies to the Bishoprics of Toulouse and Sens, preferred the latter See. The Pope, to whom he had written

* This Abbé Gobet, Bishop of *Lydda*, previous to the union of the Orders displayed the greatest zeal for the rights and interests of the Clergy. It was then necessary for him to conciliate the favour of the majority of the Order, that he might not be excluded from the Assembly, as being a Foreign Bishop. His conduct and his principles appeared so pure to his colleagues, that they examined his powers very slightly, in order that they might not be under the necessity of declaring them null, which would have been the consequence of verifying them strictly. But after the union of the Orders, the reasons for which the Abbé Gobet's Deputation had been confirmed by the Chamber of the Clergy, would have sufficed for its being pronounced null, by the majority of the National Assembly, if he had not secured the protection of the Factious, by promising them to change his principles and conduct totally, and to range himself in their party. He was very true to his promise, and was, in consequence, rewarded with the Bishopric of Paris.

to

to explain and justify the motives which had determined him to take the oath, replied to him by a brief, which was made public, and in which his Holiness reprimanded him *for having had the weakness to utter an outward oath*, which his heart disclaimed. The fear of seeming to acquiesce in this censure, if he made no answer to it, induced him to repel it in the most open manner, and in consequence, he wrote another letter to the Pope, on the 26th of March, which he caused to be inserted in the public papers. It was conceived in these terms :

“ Most Holy Father, I requested the Nuncio to lay before your Holiness my first representations on the Brief you sent to me, and on the very public manner of it ; but I owe it to my honour to make a farther reply, and I acquit myself of that duty, by resigning to your Holiness the dignity which you have had the goodness to confer upon me. No man of honour, unjustly reviled, can bear to retain the bonds of gratitude.

“ When your Holiness deigned to admit me into the Sacred College, I did not, most Holy Father, foresee, that to preserve that

honour, it would be necessary to be false to the laws of my country, and to what I think I owe to the Sovereign authority.

“ Driven to the alternative of disregarding that authority, or of renouncing the dignity of Cardinal, I do not hesitate a moment, and I hope that your Holiness will judge by this conduct better than by useless explanations, that I am far above the pretended subterfuge of an outward oath ; that my heart never disclaimed what my lips pronounced ; and that if I had not been able to approve all the articles of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, I was no less firmly resolved to fulfill the engagement I had contracted of being obedient to it, seeing nothing in what it ordered contrary to faith or repugnant to my conscience.

“ I ought, perhaps, most Holy Father, to reply to the other censures contained in your Holiness's Brief ; for, although I am no longer a Cardinal, I am still, as a Bishop, bound to the Head of the Church, to the common Father of the Faithful, and as such I shall ever be ready to render an account of my conduct to you ; but the delay of your answer, the expressions in which it is conceived,

ceived, and above all, the strange abuse of confidence which your Minister has exercised, impose silence upon me.

“ Let me be permitted only to repeat to your Holiness, that you are deceived respecting the state of Religion in this Country ; that the modes of condescension to which I endeavoured to lead you are imperiously commanded by circumstances ; that your long silence has perhaps brought affairs to a crisis, and that the rigorous means on which you seem determined, can only produce an effect contrary to your intentions.

“ I beseech your Holiness to consider these last observations as the truest mark of the respect and devotion with which, &c. &c.

“(Signed) LOMENIE.”

The late Cardinal sent this letter to *M. de Montmorin*, with a request that he would lay it before the King, and cause it to be forwarded to Rome. To the letter he wrote to the Minister, he added the passage of his first letter to the Pope, that had given room to the censure which his Holiness had passed upon him, and an extract from the mandate he had published at the time of taking the oath.

oath. This passage, which was translated from the Latin, by this *Bishop of Sens* himself, was as follows: “Your Holiness will
“easily observe, that this oath is not an ap-
“probation. The National Assembly itself
“does not require that approbation, which
“is due only to the Divine Laws. Your
“Holiness will also observe, that this oath
“does not relate to the Decrees, which,
“executed by the Government itself, re-
“quire of us only resignation; but that its
“object is merely those points which I stated
“to you in my first letter, and which can-
“not be executed without our concurrence.”

The extract from the Mandate was: “It
“was in this view that we examined the
“Decrees of the Civil Constitution of the
“Clergy, not in themselves and their ten-
“dency (the acquiescence of the heart is
“due only to the Divine Laws), not those
“which require a passive obedience (where
“the will is not exercised there is neither
“merit nor demerit) but those which we
“are called upon to execute with all our
“power.”

The intention of bringing these two pas-
sages together, was to prove the conformity
between them, and that in both, submission
was

was distinguished from approbation : “ But,” says he in his letter to *M. de Montmorin*, “ submission to a Constitution is not the
 “ less sincere and true, because we do not
 “ approve all the articles of it. *I swear to*
 “ *pay tribute to Cæsar* ; but I do not swear
 “ that *Cæsar* is right in demanding of me
 “ that which he exacts.”

By this insolent step the Constitutional Bishop of *Sens* obtained for a while the protection of the Jacobins, and the good graces of the *Sans-Culottes* ; but it excited the more the indignation and contempt of all men of honour*.

During

* Cardinal *de Lomenie* and the Abbé *de Farente*, Bishop of *Orleans*, the only Members of the old Clergy, who were vile enough to take the new oath, in order to preserve their places, both met the fate they but too well merited. The Bishop of *Viviers* and the Bishop of *Autun* also took the oath ; but at the time, the former was in a decided state of insanity, and the latter could not be well accused of committing the crime, for the purpose of preserving his place, as he resigned it a few days after his apostasy. Under the reign of *Robespierre*, the Cardinal *de Lomenie* was devoted to the guillotine, which he escaped only by poisoning himself, as soon as the Commissioners sent to *Sens* to secure his person, and carry him to Paris, had informed him of the purpose for which they

During the King's illness *Mirabeau* occupied himself entirely in combining and preparing the different measures that were necessary to his plan, whether at Paris or in the Provinces. He went almost every night to consult upon it with *M. de Montmorin*, who every day augured more favourably of it. "I doubt," said he one day to me, "whether there ever existed so vigorous an intellect as *Mirabeau's*. He is not only not to be stopped by any difficulty, but there are very few from which he does not find some means to extract advantage. With such an instrument we may make and unmake Revolutions at pleasure."—He attended the Assembly sufficiently regularly not to be suspected of other occupations; but he hardly took any part in the important business discussed in that interval. That of

they came. The day after their arrival, when they were to set out with him, he was found dead in his bed.

The Bishop of *Orleans*, a man of no character, virtue, or talents of any kind, escaped death only by his disgusting insignificance. His life was spared, because he was not found worth the trouble of guillotining. Reduced, at present, to the lowest state of misery, his turpitude disgraces the very rags that cover him.

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the *Clermontois*, the debate upon which occupied several Sittings, was determined without his speaking once. He left to the Abbé *Maury* and *M. de Clermont Lodève*, the care of pleading the cause of the house of *Condé*; and it was defended by both, each in his own style, with arguments and proofs which the Assembly would have found irresistible, if they had been inclined to be just; but their first and constant inclination was to plunder. They declared therefore, that the grant of the *Clermontois* made to the great *Condé*, in the month of December 1648, as a recompence for the most important services, should be revoked, as well as all Briefs of the Crown, Decrees of Council, Edicts, Declarations, and Letters Patent, confirming, enlarging, or warranting the said grant. They also declared the exchange made between the King and the Prince *de Condé*, on the 15th of February 1784, of all the estates and rights of the *Clermontois*, for an annuity of 600,000 livres, null and void, and only left the Prince, in consideration of the services of the great *Condé*, the sum of seven millions five hundred thousand livres, which had been paid to him as a balance or surplus
of

of the change, at the execution of the contract.

In the long and many debates which arose on the plan for a law relative to the regency, *Mirabeau* spoke once for its adjournment, and another time to propose to the Assembly to discuss, previous to all the articles presented by the Committee, the question whether the regency should be elective or not; but he only spoke with the degree of earnestness which he thought necessary to prevent the conjectures which his indifference upon so important a law could not fail to have created. At this period he also read a long memorial on the mines. This work, as well as many others, which he read to the Assembly, or which he published under his name, were his only by adoption. Almost the whole of this had been written by his friend the Marquis *de Luchet*. *Mirabeau* had only seasoned it with a few phrases to give it his seal.

After a discussion extended to several Sitings, the Assembly decreed, that the regency should appertain of full right, during the minority of the King, to his nearest relation of age, according to the order of succession

cession to the Throne, provided he were a Frenchman, born and resident in France, and had taken the civic oath; that in case the King under age, should have no relation so qualified, the regent should be elected*; that females should be excluded from the regency; that the King should be of age at eighteen years, and that from the day he was of age, the regency should cease as of course.

It was then decreed, that the care of the person of a King under age, should be confided to his mother; that, in case he had no mother, or if she were married again, at the accession of her son to the Throne, or if she married again, during his minority, the care of the King should be given to a person elected by the Legislative Body. All these arrangements were adopted without opposition; but that was not the case with those relative to the residence of the Public Functionaries, the debate upon which had been adjourned on *Mirabeau's* motion, till the law respecting the regency should have passed. The members of the *Coté-Droit*

* The consideration of the mode of election was adjourned. It was only determined that it should not be delegated to the legislature.

unanimously

unanimously censured the Committee for persisting to give the King the appellation of *Public Functionary*, in spite of the scandal which those indecent expressions had caused at the first reading of the plan for a Decree.

“ The Committee,” said *M. de Cazalés*,
“ ought to know, that a Nation honours
“ itself by honouring its Chief. They
“ ought to think of the example set us
“ by England ; that Nation is free under
“ a King the most respected. They ought,
“ above all, to take care not to produce
“ again the articles in which it is said, that
“ *if the King left the Kingdom, and did*
“ *not, upon being called upon, by a Pro-*
“ *clamation of the Legislative Body, return*
“ *to France, he should be judged to have*
“ *abdicated the Throne.* If there are cases
“ in which the King is amenable, there are
“ cases in which the Executive Power is
“ dependant ; now, if it is dependant, it
“ is under subjection ; and, if under sub-
“ jection, adieu to all Government, to all
“ the happiness of the Nation ! It is not of
“ you, of your modern Constitution, that
“ the Royal Family hold the right of suc-
“ cession to the Crown. They hold it from
“ the

“ the voice of the French People, for
 “ eight hundred years past : from the voice
 “ of this Nation, who spoke loudly in our
 “ own days, when they ordered you to ac-
 “ knowledge this principle, under pain of
 “ disloyalty to the King and to the Nation.
 “ If the inheritance of the Monarch to the
 “ Throne is independant of your power,
 “ you have no right to impose conditions
 “ upon him. As for me, I am not afraid
 “ to say, that to debate on this subject
 “ would be treason. If the Assembly, in
 “ an intoxication of power, by which they
 “ have often been misled, should proceed to
 “ discuss this question, I declare that I will
 “ take no part in their deliberation. I swear
 “ to disobey them ; I swear to remain con-
 “ stantly loyal to the blood of *St. Louis*
 “ and of *Henry IV.* ; I swear, let your De-
 “ crees, let events be what they may, I will
 “ never cease to defend the blood of my
 “ lawful Sovereigns.” At these words, the
 members of the *Coté-Droit*, standing, and
 holding up their hands, cried — *We all*
swear it !

Petion was the first champion of the
Coté-Gauche, who entered the lists against
M. de Cazalès. “ Can we,” said he, “ suf-

“fer the Nation to be thus degraded—thus
“vilified? Free citizens are subjects only
“of the Law. In a body they are not sub-
“jects of a King: in a body they are So-
“vereigns. I shall put a very plain ques-
“tion, and I beg it may be answered: Sup-
“pose the King to enter the Kingdom at
“the head of a Foreign army, to subdue the
“Nation, would not the King, in that case
“be punishable?”—“No! no! replied all
the *Coté-Droit*. “If so,” cried the Abbé
Maury, “*Henry IV. ought to have been*
hanged.” *Petion* stammered out a few words
more in support of his proposition, when
Alexander de Lameth, fearing the conse-
quences of so unequal a contest, rose, and
maintained boldly, in the name of the Con-
stitution and of the Sovereignty of the Na-
tion, that to advance or admit the theory of
M. de Cazalès, was to betray both. “As
“it has been decreed,” added he, “that
“the Sovereignty resides in the Nation——”
—“It is not true,” cried the Abbé *Maury*
—“it is very astonishing,” proceeded *Lameth*,
“that men still talk of loyal subjects, as if
“it were possible not to be loyal to the So-
“vereignty. We will be faithful to the
“law; we have sworn it, and those Gen-
“tlemen

“ tlemen have sworn it too. It is said that
 “ the plan of the Committee infringes on
 “ the personal inviolability of the King; but
 “ it is in fulfilling his functions, that the
 “ King is inviolable.” These words pro-
 duced a violent agitation, which the *Coté-
 Gauche* accompanied with some applauses.
 “ To what a pitch,” resumed the speaker,
 “ will men dare to carry their mockery of
 “ us and of the Nation, by pretending that
 “ the King contracts no obligation? We are
 “ faithful to the King, but to the King of
 “ the Constitution. We are above all, faith-
 “ ful to the Sovereign Nation.”—“ Mr.
 “ President,” cried *M. Despréménil*, “ pray
 “ call these blasphemers to order.” —
 “ How,” proceeded *Alexander Lameth*,
 “ Can any one pretend to tell us that the
 “ Nation, who have a right to change their
 “ Government, have no right to depose a
 “ King, who abandons his functions?”—
 The agitation increased, and several voices
 called the speaker to order. He said a few
 words more, and concluded with moving,
 that the Assembly, without paying attention
 to the propositions of *M. de Cazalès* or
M. Despréménil, should proceed to the dis-

cussion of the articles of the plan for a Decree. *M. de Cazalès* demanded to be heard, and began to speak; but the *Coté-Gauche*, thinking themselves not strong enough at that time to secure success to the plan of the Committee, rose in a mass, calling loudly for *the order of the day*. The President put this motion to the vote, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the *Coté-Droit*. The majority, doubtful at the first attempt made in favour of the order of the day, now declared for it, which the Assembly adopted, and immediately broke up the Sitting, although it was but two o'clock.

Mirabeau, who had been for some time subject to violent attacks of the cholic, was not at the Assembly on that day. He attended the day following, for the last time; but the debate relative to the residence of the Public Functionaries, was carefully avoided in his presence. The manner in which he had argued, at the time of the Committee's first report, had alarmed the Factious of the *Coté-Gauche*, without fully gaining the confidence of the *Coté-Droit*; so that both, equally fearing to have him as an adversary in the debate, concurred, without under-

understanding each other, in desiring that it should not be renewed at this Sitting, which was chiefly occupied in deliberating on the plan for a Decree which *Mirabeau* had proposed relative to the mines and ores, and of which all the articles were adopted, with some slight amendments.

The debate on the residence of the Public Functionaries, was resumed in the next Sitting. The reporter, (*Thouret*) had had time to prepare an answer to *M. de Cazalès's* objections. He contended against them in a long speech, on which the members of the *Coté-Gauche* lavished their applauses. He omitted no case in which the King could be held guilty against the Nation, and maintained that their possibility was sufficient to make it the duty of the Assembly to provide against them. *M. de Cazalès* replied; "I shall not examine," said he, "whether, by diving, with a criminal sedulity, into such positions, a lawful case may or may not be found, in which the Nation may depose their rightful Sovereign. That question was wrapped in a sacred veil; and they are culpable, who have dared to rend that veil. It is proved, that it is not necessary to have a

law to determine the abdication of the Throne. In circumstances like those, which the last speaker has dared to foresee, the supreme will of the Nation would decide more surely than the law. This foresight is a species of crime. Nay, if the object of all Government be to insure the tranquillity and happiness of the People, how can it be otherwise than criminal to discuss these questions, which teach the People to despise the supreme authority, and point out the exact cases in which they are to disobey their Sovereign? It is to these rash speculations—it is to the maxims too often supported in this Assembly, that you owe the disposition to rebellion, the anarchy to which the Kingdom is given up, and a part of the crimes which have disgraced the Revolution. You are gathering the fruits, the very bitter fruits of so indiscreet a conduct. Where is the Judge to be found between the National Assembly and the King, in all the cases you have pointed out? Will the National Assembly pronounce the judgment? Then would the Executive Power be tried by the Legislative Body. This would be the greatest encroachment on the Constitution,

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the most inconsistent with the distinction of the powers. Once render the Executive Power dependant, and you annihilate Liberty. It is every where the fate of the People not to be able to exercise their power. Compelled to delegate it, it was necessary that they should balance the powers confided by them. By those powers they reign, they judge, and are Sovereign; but if one of the powers they delegate be annihilated, the People are slaves—they are no more any thing. Thus every time you give one of the powers the ascendancy over the other, you are traitors to that People, of whom so much is said, and whom then you enslave, &c. &c.”

The reporter repeated, in different words, the answers he had already made and persisted in maintaining the Committee's plan for a Decree, to which, however, he proposed a modification tending to convoke a National Convention in the case of the King, absent from the Kingdom, refusing to return, after a proclamation by the Legislative Body, and to invest that Convention with the right of deciding, whether the King could be considered or not, as having abdicated the Throne by his absence,

M. Despréménil presented another plan for a Decree, by which it should be declared, “ that the sacred person of the King was exempt from all jurisdiction, in every case, and at all times, without exception; that no power, were it even strengthened by the will of the King himself, could declare him amenable; that every position which should tend to inflict the slightest penalty on the Royal Head, could proceed only from the mouth of a mad-man or a rebel, &c. &c.” He was interrupted at every sentence, sometimes by bursts of laughter, sometimes by cries of—“ to Charenton* with him, to the Committee of Lunatics!” The Assembly put an end to these witticisms by closing the debate. Many of the members of the *Coté-Droit*, foreseeing the issue, determined not to take any part in it. Several of them left the Hall. The articles of the plan for a Decree proposed by the Committee which related to the King, was then put to the vote, and adopted. The modification proposed by the reporter was rejected, and it was only decreed, on that head, that the

* Where there was an hospital for mad people,

mode of execution should be referred to the Committee.

At the time that the Factious gained this victory in the Assembly, there was another preparing much more important to them.—*Mirabeau* was seized with a violent spasm in his stomach and breast, and lay in the greatest danger. The medicines he took produced at first such effects as to leave some hopes; but they were of short duration. On the third day the disorder assumed the most unfavourable symptoms, and in the morning of the sixth, *Mirabeau* was no more. Several of his best friends, among whom was the Bishop of *Autun*, staid with him during the whole of his illness. In the moments of intermission from pain, he spoke to them with his usual acuteness and energy, upon the important objects that occupied his mind. A few minutes before his death he said, “ My friends, it is not for
“ me you have to weep, but for the Mo-
“ narchy, which descends with me to the
“ grave.”—His words were but too true.

His death had at Paris the effect of a great public calamity. Dejected countenances were seen in every quarter. The tradesman, the mechanic, the labourer, all grieved for him

him as severely as a good son mourns a good father. They were seen in the streets indiscriminately accosting each other, though unacquainted, to unite their sorrows for the death of *Mirabeau*, as if they had all been of his family. Nor did the Assembly show less grief, of which they inserted testimonies on their Journals, and decreed that they should in a Body attend his funeral. He was buried on the 4th of April. Never was there a more magnificent or noble funeral. The train began to be formed at five o'clock in the afternoon. The procession was opened by a detachment of Parisian National Cavalry. This detachment was followed by a body of Miners and Cannoniers, a deputation of the Invalids, and a deputation of the sixty battalions of the Parisian National Guard, marching sixteen deep, preceded by the Staff-Officers, at the head of whom was *M. de la Fayette*. The *Cent-Suisses* of the King's Guards, and the Guards of the *Prevoté de l'Hotel* came next, and was followed by the band of music belonging to the National Guard, with funeral instruments and drums dressed in black crape. A great number of the Clergy preceded the body. The coffin was to have been carried in a
hearse,

hearse, but the battalion of the section of *la Grange-bateliere*, of which *Mirabeau* had been Commander, desired to carry it. It was alternately borne by sixteen soldiers, who were encompassed by a great many of the National Guards with their arms reversed. The Colours of the battalion were raised on the coffin, on which was also a civic crown. The National Assembly went next, escorted by the battalion of the Veterans and by that of the Cadets. The Electors, the Deputies of the forty-eight Sections, the Department, the Municipality, the Judges of the Courts of Paris, the Municipal Officers of the neighbouring towns, the King's Ministers, the Society of the Friends of the Constitution (*the Jacobins*), the Club of 1789, the Fraternal Societies, and all the Patriotic Clubs of the Capital came after the Assembly. The procession was closed by a considerable detachment of infantry and cavalry. This immense train proceeded with the greatest order through a lane of double ranks of the National Guards, and an innumerable crowd of citizens of all ages and sexes, who preserved a dead silence, except that now and then it was broken by some accents of sorrow. After a march of three hours the procession arrived

arrived at the Church of *St. Eustache*, which was entirely hung with black, and where the Abbé *Cerutti*, formerly a Jesuit, delivered a funeral and pathetic eulogium upon *Mirabeau*, considered as a Politician and a Legislator.

The general anxiety to pay him every possible honour, suggested to the Directory of the Department the idea, a very extraordinary one surely, of converting the new church of *St. Genevieve* into a Pantheon, appropriated to receiving the ashes of such great men as the Representatives of the Nation should judge worthy of that honour. They presented a petition to this effect to the Assembly, and proposed to them to grant this reward to the signal services which *Mirabeau* had rendered the Country. This petition, which was received with rapture, was referred to the Committee of the Constitution, and passed into a Decree the next morning, the day on which *Mirabeau* was buried. The Assembly ordered that his body should be laid by the ashes of *Descartes*, in the vault of the old church of *St. Genevieve*, until the new one was ready to receive it. In the meantime it was decreed, that the Directors of the Department should see that
this

this edifice be speedily made ready for its new destination, and the following inscription engraved above the pediment:

AUX GRANDS HOMMES
LA PATRIE RECONNOISSANTE*.

In obedience to this Decree the body of *Mirabeau* was removed to the old church of *St. Genevieve* as soon as the *Abbé Cerutti* had finished his discourse, and was accompanied thither by the same train that had attended it to *St. Eustache*. The procession was conducted in the same order as before; and it was one in the morning before the ceremony was over. The public places were shut up, as they had been on the day of his death. The Directors of the Department of Paris, the Municipality, and club of *Jacobins*, entered into a resolution of wearing mourning for several days, and their example was followed by some other departments.

The debate on the distribution of successions in a direct line was to take place on the very day that *Mirabeau* died, and one of the last things he regretted was, that he should

* To Great Men, dedicated by a grateful Country.

not be able to go that day to the Assembly to read a discourse which he had prepared upon the occasion. As he was expiring, he put it into the hands of the Bishop of *Autun*, and begged him to read it in his name, which the Bishop did that very day in the Evening-Sitting. “The author of this writing,” said he, “is no more; I bring you his last work. We may consider it as a precious rescued relic of the immense prey which Death has seized. *M. Mirabeau* is at this instant still a public man. By attending to this discourse you will in a manner receive his last sigh.” The reading of it was listened to with a religious silence, yet often interrupted by applause. The Assembly ordered it to be printed, and adjourned the debate.

Mirabeau possessed so robust a constitution, such extraordinary strength, that it was very generally suspected that he had been poisoned. But he was opened, in presence of several of the faculty, by his own physician, who was affectionately attached to him, and not the slightest appearance of poison was perceived. For near a month before, his health, which he never took care of, had been much impaired by frequent attacks

attacks of the colic, and the disorder that proved fatal was the natural and immediate consequence of a debauch which he had carried to the greatest excess.

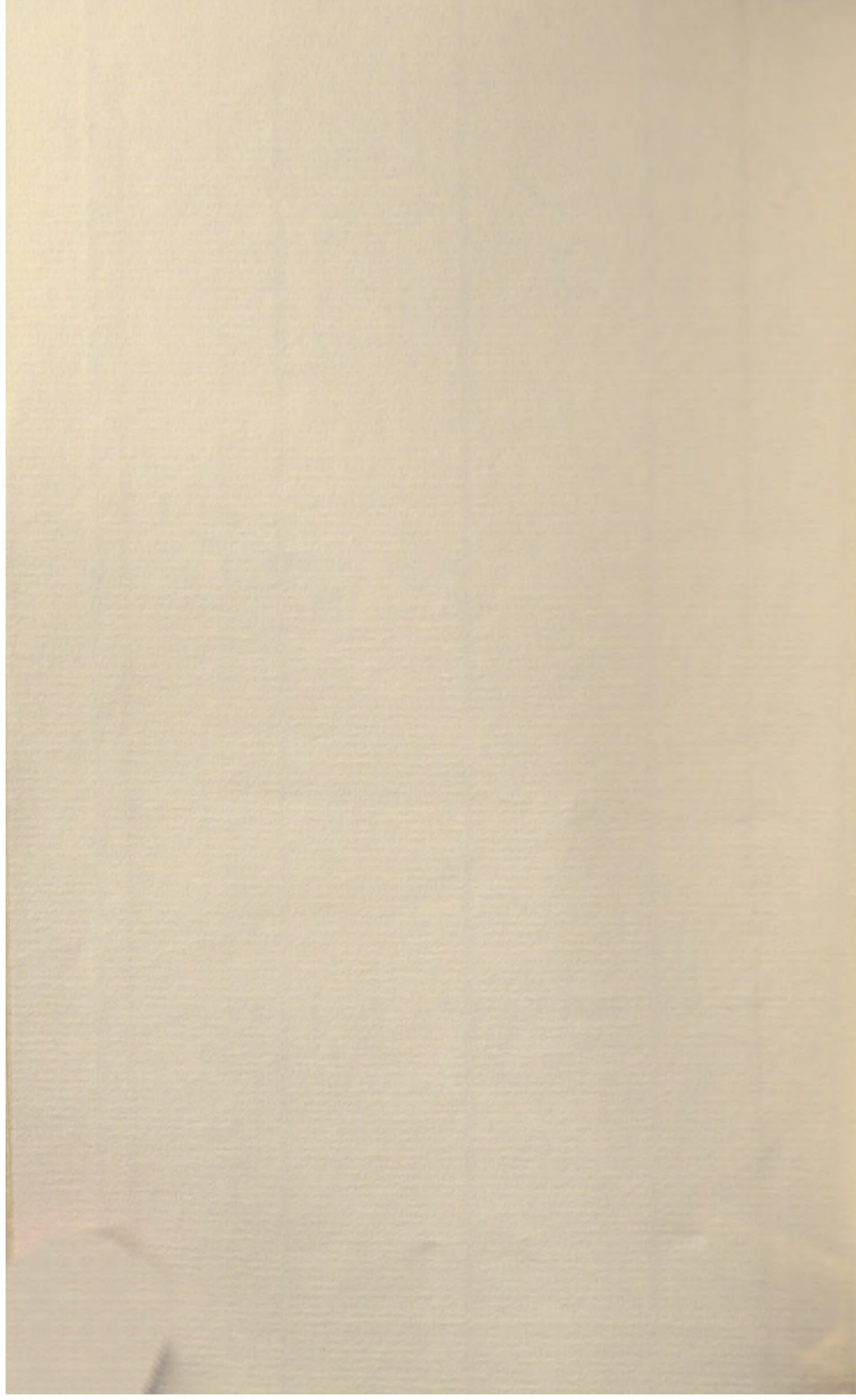
Thus died this man, who was possessed of qualities doubtless very rare, but the most fatal when not the most valuable. He had sufficient energy, sufficient ambition, and more talents than necessary to fill the highest offices with great eminence; in a word, to be a Great Man, if the violence of his passions and his love of money had not always rendered him a contemptible one, and often a rascal. It would be very difficult to select a single period of his life free from errors or crimes. If he had not died so soon, he might, by important services, have repaired a part of the mischief he had done; he might perhaps have saved the Monarchy: but Providence, who sometimes suffers the wicked to triumph and to oppress virtue, very rarely permits the ignominious path of wickedness to lead to that of real glory. The extraordinary honours decreed to *Mirabeau* by the Assembly and the Capital, were but of short duration, for they were granted for criminal services, for a conduct much less deserving praise than contempt and punishment.

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Had they been the reward of the intentions and of the plan which had occupied his mind for the last three months of his life, they would have been immortal; because they would have been the homage and the recompence of virtue.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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